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OF WORCESTER COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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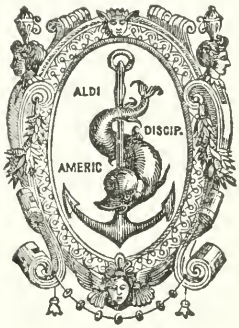

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TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

The Editor believes the republication of the following treatise to be timely, and called for by the turn of religious inquiry in our country. For some years past alarm has been very generally felt and expressed at the growth of popery among us. It matters not that it can be shown to be the result mainly of imported men, money, and members; that its extent has been more or less exaggerated, and its dependencies rated quite too high; the fact that, by importation, by education, and in some small measure, by conversions, popery is spreading in our land in all directions, is incontrovertible. In proportion as men really know what popery is, and where its strength lies, they see cause of dread in its present position, in contact with our free institutions, our restless activity of public mind, and our shallow ignorance of the true grounds of contest between Romanism and other forms of Christianity. Nothing so effectually puts one in the power of a subtle proselyter, as ignorant prejudice against him. The more bitter the hate in which he is held, the more sure he is of victory. One plausible explanation after another puts his antagonist in the wrong, by the verdict of his own conscience. He feels that he has been condemning

what was perhaps not really sinful, or what was false in fact, and dares not rely on his own judgment on other points; or perhaps concedes in mass, principles of the most extreme importance together with his own baseless notions. Many know popery only as the use of certain forms of worship; or at most, as the profession of belief in transubstantiation, and acknowledgment of the pope as the infallible vicar of God on earth. Romish books of controversy and proselytism are full of the most plausible statements, and explanations, and disguisements of these points. The uninformed reader is amazed to find that he has been all in the wrong with regard to the much-calumniated adherents to what he is taught to recognize as the "old faith." Great principles are brought forward—the unity, visibility, perpetuity, indefectibility, of the church—its authority to teach and rule—its commission to seal the redeemed of the Lamb, which he cannot but admit, and to which he has been too much a stranger. These, he is told, are the grounds of the pretensions of the "mother and mistress of churches." The recognition of these truths is all that is required of him; by virtue of their reception he becomes her child. The other differences between her and Protestants grow out of these, and are determined by them. They can be made easy to him, if he will but return to his obedience. He professes to believe in "one Catholic Church:" let him but make his belief a fact, and become a "Catholic." Thus is truth so put forth as to become a lie, and the basis of a system of lies.

A corrupt schism, inseparably linked to a multitude of damnable and deadly errors, is palmed upon the unsuspecting proselyte, under a name which it has only by the most preposterous assumption, and by the use of arguments which might be turned against it with ruinous efficiency, were the victim but aware of the true nature and state of the controversy.

The safety of Rome lies in the indifference and ignorance of Protestants concerning the Catholic Church of CHRIST. Once let that article of the universal creed—"ONE HOLY, CATHOLIC, AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH" be generally and thoroughly understood, and the usurper of an unholy lordship over GOD'S heritage shall be driven back, powerless, to the narrow limits of his own true jurisdiction; the prestige of his usurped authority removed, the Scriptures which even now he is unable wholly to keep from his people, will defæcate the doctrine of his subjects; and the many valuable remnants of primitive simplicity, and earnestness and zeal which still survive, like sparks of holy fire, amid the ashes and rubbish of accumulated corruptions, may blaze forth to give light and heat and the vigour of life to those purer forms of doctrine which are now too like the Alpine snows in coldness as well as clarity.

Romanists well know that it is not in this or the other point of doctrine or practice that the controversy between them and the Protestant communities lies. In a late insidious "letter on Christian Union," put forth by one of their prelates, it is plainly stated that "without the recognition of the principle of church

authority no coincidence in special doctrines would secure the end" of union among the different denominations, which the letter-writer charitably proposes to accomplish by absorption into their body! "The unerring authority of the Catholic church in matters of faith being once admitted," he says again, "the union would be easily accomplished." It is a seasonable note of warning to Protestants, for which they have reason to be thankful to the giver. Let those who are set, or set themselves, as teachers among us, look to it that they are themselves so well instructed in the question of "church authority" as to be able to keep the people on their guard against the lessons which Rome and her emissaries stand ready and willing to afford them. Popery is formidable mainly because its advocates and sectaries are all, to a certain degree, trained in the questions which this work discusses, and which *must* be discussed to set its claims at rest,—while the most disgraceful ignorance or alarming indifference concerning them pervades the rest of the community. The Romish clergy are learned on these points almost exclusively, while, whatever may be the disparagement, it is no calumny on the ministers of the Protestant denominations to say that they are as generally ill-informed and ill-furnished for their discussion.

Nor is it with reference to popery alone that the subject of this treatise is important to our times and country. The monstrosities in religion that are daily springing up, and, in some instances, spreading with the strangest rapidity on our soil, afford good reason

for alarm to the thoughtful. Where is the evil to end? How is it to be checked? are questions that no serious observer of the state of religious profession in this country can have failed to ask himself. Under the power of GOD, he will find no other refuge than the authority of the church—one, unchanging, sure, the same, inasmuch as it is that of the body of CHRIST, to-day, yesterday, and forever. But is he to go to Rome to seek it? there to find it, with Bishop Kenrick, in "the power of the bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter," "the rock on which the whole edifice of Christianity rests in immoveable firmness; the essential centre of unity, around which all the faithful must gather in harmony of faith and obedience?" He will, he must, unless prepared to reject the proffered guidance, by an acquaintance with that older, and firmer, and broader basis of CATHOLIC truth, which this book will help him to discover.

One thing such an inquirer must bear in mind, and it is necessary that it should never be lost sight of in the discussion here offered,—that such a process brings the church into an unnatural position, the reverse of that assigned it by its constitution—as *being sought*, when its office is *to seek*. The investigator enters on his work, as set down in the midst of a multitude of conflicting sects (Part I. Chap. II. init.) at a loss to decide on their respective claims, and looking for the grounds of such decision; whereas the designed relation of the individual to the church is that of a learner who has only to hold fast or reject the teaching of a body of which he is already

a member, and without asking whether that body *be* a teacher, is only to settle whether he ought or ought not to adhere to its teaching. Undoubtedly its right to teach lies at the bottom of his inquiry; but it was not *designed* to come up: the question for him is the truth of what it teaches, as well with regard to itself, as to all other revealed truth.

Otherwise stated, the case is this: A man is in the world, and the Church comes to him, with her message, and her credentials: which shall he do first, hear the message, or examine the credentials? If she come *alone*, the first, surely: the very tenor of her message would be a test of her credentials. But suppose she do not come alone: the credentials must be tried, to discriminate the true messenger. Would not the shortest way be, to settle what are *flaws* in the credentials? since the probability is, that one or more of the false pretenders (for they are *many*, but the true only *one*) will first present itself. This is to be done by the notes of the Church. They are negative tests —not that which gives the Church its authority; but those things of which the absence proves a pretender to be *not* the true messenger.

This *negative* character is very observable in all the notes mentioned by our author (below, p. 25. s.) as having been employed at various times. Against the novelties of the Gnostics, Tertullian appeals to antiquity and priority: Irenæus, against the multiplicity of systems and spurious derivations of the same family of heresies, to the one faith and succession of the church: and all these notes are of universal use, be-

cause all heresy and schism must be novel and of spurious origin. In the Donatist controversy, where both parties had an outward succession from the apostles, that note was not appealed to.

The notes employed by Augustin are those which served him to detect the heresy of Manichæism,—Jerome argues against *the recent* sect called after its author—&c. &c.

The value of these several tests is not to be estimated singly. No one may be sufficient for the end: the probability is rather that no one will be; that several or all, may be required completely to discriminate the one true claimant to be the channel of Divine goodness from all false pretenders. Still less may any one, or all, be expected positively to establish the claim of the one true body of CHRIST: that claim is substantiated by the refutation of the others. We who have CHRIST's promise to be always with us, may rest on it, content and thankful, when we have disproved the Roman tyrant's claim to be its exclusive depositary, and ascertained the nullity of the pretensions that swarm around us from other quarters.

In a treatise of such extent and variety of topics, it could hardly be expected that an editor should adopt wholly the views and expressions of his author. He is very sensible of the disparity between them, and yet has freely used the liberty of comment which editorship implies; and does not, even now, hold himself responsible for all that he has suffered to pass without remark. In many places, without material difference as to fact, or argument, he would have preferred

another tone; in others, would have made a different choice of proof or illustration; but, on the whole, deemed the disadvantages of scrupulous attention to such points more than compensatory for any little enhancement the value of the work might receive from the unlimited endorsement of an editor.

Than that editor none can be more deeply grateful to the learned and laborious author with whom he has presumed to take such freedoms. If anywhere he has chanced to see further or more clearly, it is as the pigmy on the giant's shoulder. Everywhere he has found cause for admiration of the extent and depth of research, the accuracy of learning, and the clearness of methodical arrangement, which make this, as the first complete treatise on the subject in our language, so among the best in any.

The most scrupulous attention has been given not to alter word or syllable of the original text. Everything added, has been designated by brackets. Even manifest slips of the pen, in two or three instances, have been retained in the text, with the addition of bracketed corrections.

W. R. W.

Baltimore,
Feast of St. Barnabas, 1841.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

In presenting to students in theology a treatise on so extensive a subject as that of the Christian Church in general, it seems necessary to state the reasons and the objects of this publication.

To contemplate the past and present condition of the universal church of Christ, must always be full of a deep interest to those who believe that the Son of God came into this world to establish a spiritual kingdom, in which through His atonement and merits, salvation should be obtained by the faithful of all nations, even to the end of the world. The fulfilment of many prophecies of holy scripture, and the accomplishment of the Divine promises and the Divine will, are involved in the fate of Christianity.

Nor are such topics merely instructive and interesting to a contemplative and Christian mind: they disclose to us the deep responsibility incumbent on every individual Christian, to seek for the Divine favour, not in broken cisterns of human device; but in that way wherein alone Divine grace is promised, and which, amidst the infirmities, the errors, and the

faults inseparable from human agency, conducts to eternal life.

In addition to these considerations, which would in themselves justify an attempt to examine the question of the church in its full extent, the alteration of circumstances and opinions furnishes another reason for this undertaking. The controversies between our churches and their various opponents, have been gradually assuming new forms. Fresh theories and arguments have been devised; while many of those ancient errors against which the masters of Anglo-catholic theology contended in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have been permitted to sink into oblivion. One class of separatists has ceased to maintain the temporal power of the Roman Pontiff, and other Ultramontane doctrines: another no longer claims a divine right for its system of church-government; and a false Liberality has arisen, which views truth and error with impartial indifference, and opens the way to Infidelity.

Such circumstances will, I hope, justify the publication of this Treatise, in which, avoiding obsolete controversies, and, as much as possible, the discussion of the particular doctrines of Revelation, it has been my object to examine the origin, signs, privileges, powers, relations, and existing condition of the Catholic Church, and of all sects, and to supply the theological student with a selection of arguments, by which he may be enabled to defend the Churches of this realm against all adversaries whatsoever.

It has been my endeavour to adapt the entire system

to the existing state of controversy. I have therefore carefully examined whatever has been advanced by our opponents, and replied to every thing that seemed worthy of a reply. The arguments of the modern and ancient Roman theologians of eminence, especially those which are taught in their seminaries, have been diligently collected and refuted.

This work being designed, not so much for general readers, as for students of theology, I have adopted a mode of arrangement and division, which has less of a popular form than is now usual, but which may contribute to the clearness of the argument, and to facility of reference. I have avoided the multiplication of proofs where a few seem sufficient, and have generally, where I could do so with satisfaction, referred the reader to works where additional information may be obtained. Nor can I refrain from here acknowledging the advantages which, in the course of this publication, I have derived from the judgment, the learning, and the unwearied kindness of my friend, the Rev. Richard Greswell, Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College.

In a treatise comprehending so many difficult and important questions, I cannot expect, notwithstanding considerable care, that no mistakes or inaccuracies have escaped my pen: but as I hope they will not be found numerous or material, so I shall, if afforded the opportunity, endeavour hereafter to supply whatever corrections and amendments may seem advisable.

But, I would add, that the leading principles and conclusions here defended are, I trust, supported by

such proofs as cannot be overthrown. They will at least show, that members of the church of England are not obliged to take the attitude of dissenters or of latitudinarians, in defending themselves against Papists; and that our whole system of argument against all sects and heresies, is, or may be, harmonious and consistent.

I now commend this work to the protection of Almighty God, praying that it may confirm the reader in an enlightened and devoted adherence to the faith and the communion of our holy churches; and that it may increase his love for all who are of the household of faith, his charitable forbearance towards the imperfect and feeble members of Christ's church, and his zeal to promote the glory of God and the salvation of man, in that way which God himself has appointed.

Oxford, 1838.

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A

TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART I.

THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH APPLIED TO THE EXISTING COMMUNITIES OF PROFESSING CHRISTIANS.

A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART I.—CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS.—THE PERPETUITY OF THE CHURCH.—SALVATION IN THE CHURCH ONLY.

SECTION I.

DEFINITIONS.

The term ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ which we translate "Church," is occasionally employed by the sacred writers in senses different from those which we connect with it; as for instance, to designate the people of God under the former dispensation, or even to express any public assembly: with these meanings I am not at present concerned. Its ordinary application in Scripture is to a society of Christians, or of those who believe in Christ. God himself according to Scripture has "*called*" all such "out of darkness into his marvellous light;"[a] so that, as it is said elsewhere, "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy."[b] Thus the church of Christ is not formed by the mere voluntary association of individuals, but by divine grace, operating either by miracle, or by ordinary means of divine institution. And this seems implied in the very word ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ, derived from ΕΚΚΑΛΕΙΝ, "to call forth."

The applications of this term to the Christian society are various.

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[a] 1 Pet. ii. 9. [b] Rom. ix. 16.

1. It sometimes means the whole Christian body or society, considered as composed of its vital and essential members, the elect and sanctified children of God, and as distinguished from those who are only externally and temporarily united to Christ. In this sense we may understand the apostle speaking of a "glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing."[c] And again: "the general assembly and church of the first-born, which are written in heaven."[d] It is generally allowed that the wicked belong only *externally* to the church.[e]

2. The church means the whole society of Christians throughout the world, including all who profess their belief in Christ, and who are subject to lawful pastors; as in these passages: "Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God."[f] "God hath set some in the church; first Apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers,"[g] &c. In this universal church are many lesser societies or churches.

3. It is applied to the whole Christian community of a city and its neighbourhood; thus we read, "Unto the church of God which is at Corinth" (1 Cor. i. 2.) the church of Jerusalem is mentioned (Acts viii. 1), Antioch (Acts xiii. 1), Ephesus (xx. 17), Laodicea (Col. v. 16), Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia (Rev. ii. iii.)

4. It sometimes means a Christian family or a very small community meeting in one house for worship, as in the following passages: "Greet Priscilla and Aquila, ... likewise greet the church that is in their house" (Rom. xvi. 35);

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[c] Eph. v. 27. [d] Heb. xii. 23.

[e] Field on the Church, b. i. ch. 7, 8. The Romish Theologians generally concur in the same doctrine. Tournely says, "solos electos ac justos ad nobiliorem ecclesiæ partem, quæ *anima* ipsius dicitur et in virtutibus consistit, reprobos vero et malos ad illius dumtaxat *corpus*, hoc est externam fidei professionem ac eorundem sacramentorum participationem pertinere." De Eccl. qu. i. art. 2. See also Bailly, Tract. de Ecclesia, prænotata: Delahogue, c. 1; Collet, Prælect. de Eccl. qu. 1; Bouvier, part iii. c. 2. See Chapter VI. of this Part.

[f] 1 Cor. x. 32. [g] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

"Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house" (1 Cor. xvi. 19); "Nymphas and the church which is in his house" (Col. iv. 15); "The church in thy house" (Philemon 2).

5. Since the Scriptures speak of the universal church in the *singular* number, though it comprises many particular churches; and since each particular church is so called, though it includes many Christian families or lesser communities of Christians; we on the same principle may speak of "the church" of England or of France, of the Eastern or the Western church, though many particular churches are included under each; or we may, with equal propriety, say, "the *churches* of Britain," or "of France," &c. This latter form is indeed used in Scripture itself, *e. g.* "The churches of Galatia" (1 Cor. xvi. 1); but the singular form is justifiable from the usage of Scripture.[h]

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[h] [It is not to be denied that "the church *in* England," "the church *in* France," or "the church *in* America," may be spoken of, by a metonymy like that in the phrase, "the church *in* the house" of such a one: the full expression in the first instance being "the (part of the catholic) church in England," &c.; in the second, "the (part of the) church (of Rome, that meets for worship) in the house of Aquila and Priscilla," &c. But "the church *of* England," or "*of* France," is a less accurate expression, and hardly justifiable. In primitive and correct language, it may be doubted whether there is such a thing as *a national* church. Pearson (on the Creed, p. 332, fol.) not only knows nothing of it, but remarks the exclusive use of the plural in Scripture, whenever the believers of a *country* or *region* are spoken of. Barrow (on Church Unity, p. 2, ed. 4to.) has it not among his five senses of the term "church"; and represents (ib. p. 28, 43, ss.) the union of Christians in a *realm* or *nation*, as a *confederation* of churches; such confederations being made for wise purposes, and strongly binding on the members, but of human origin, and for expediency only. Bingham knows nothing of a *national* church.

The gradual rise of the power of the metropolitan probably occasioned the gradual introduction of the notion of a body of which the metropolitan might be considered as the head; of which the first trace is discoverable in Cyprian. The civil establishment and modification of the church under Constantine and his successors developed this and made it general. In

SECTION II.

ON THE PERPETUITY OF THE CHURCH.

No one denies that our Lord Jesus Christ founded a society of men professing his doctrines on earth. That he did so is certain from his own words: "On this rock I will build my church" (Matt. xvi. 18); and we read afterwards, that "The Lord added daily to the church such as should be saved" (Acts ii. 47). The very object of Christ's mission, and of his death, was to "purify unto himself a peculiar people" (Tit. ii. 14), whom St. Peter describes as "a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation," even "the people of God" (1 Pet. ii. 9, 10). The intention of our Saviour was to establish a kingdom upon earth, and draw all men unto him; and it was impossible that this object could fail: its completion had been decreed before the foundation of the world; it had been predicted by prophets, and the Son of God accomplished it.

It is needless to occupy space in proving what is generally admitted, namely, the *institution* of a society of Christians called "the church," by Christ and his apostles; but it has been inquired whether this society was to continue always in the world.

The perpetuity of the church was predicted by the prophet Isaiah in these words: "I will make an everlasting covenant with them; and their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their offspring among the people: all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed" (Is. lxi. 8. 9). The prophecy of Daniel is still more

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the fifth and following centuries, the bishops of Rome found it expedient to favour the then prevailing notion, which gave substance to their claims. From the time of Clovis downward, the position of the French churches materially aided the fiction. Their resistance to the encroachments of Rome, made *the Gallican* church little less conspicuous from the sixth to the fifteenth century, than it became again in the seventeenth, or than *the Anglican* church appears in the defences of its liberties against papal usurpations, since the reformation.]

clear: "In the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall *never* be destroyed . . . . and it shall stand *for ever*" (Dan. ii. 44)[1]. It was also promised by our Lord himself on several occasions: "On this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi. 18); "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you *for ever;* even the Spirit of Truth" (John xiv. 16, 17); "Lo, I am with you *always*, even unto the *end of the world*" (Matt. xxviii. 20). These remarkable and positive promises clearly establish the perpetuity of the church; and it may be also inferred easily from the promise made to the faithful servant, whom the Lord should set over his household: "Blessed is that servant whom his Lord *when he cometh* shall find so doing" (Matt. xiv. 46); in which words it is intimated, that when Christ shall come in the latter day, he shall, even then, find faithful servants presiding over his own household, still existing upon the earth. It is also proved by the words of the apostle Paul, in describing the coming of Christ: "Then *we* which *are alive* and *remain* shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 17). It is also to be deduced from the parable of the tares and the draw-net, in which the angels of God are represented as gathering out of his kingdom, still existing up to the end of the world, all the wicked and hypocrites (Matt. xiii. 41, 49).

The same divine love which caused the humiliation of the Eternal Son, that a new people might be gathered from all nations, and constituted the Church of the living God; this love would most assuredly not permit, that a system designed for the salvation of mankind, should after a time entirely cease. Man is always in the same need of divine mercy, and, if the church of Christ was originally the way of salvation, and God willed that all men should receive the offer of salvation, it must be supposed that the church once founded would continue

[1] See also Ps. xlviii. 8. lxxxix. 29.

always, because the Christian dispensation is not to be succeeded by any other. If it were supposed indeed, that the church of Christ had no promise of perpetuity from God, and might have altogether failed, it would be at least uncertain whether there is any church of God now existing on earth. It would be useless in this case to enter into the investigation of controversies between different sects, because all might alike be cut off from Christ, and from the privileges granted to his disciples. And if we supposed the church once to perish, it could not revive except by a new outpouring of divine power; for God alone can call men to be the disciples and members of Christ, either by miracle or by ordinary means of his appointment; and since in case of the failure of the Church, there would no longer be any ordinary means, (for the Scripture says, "How shall they hear without a preacher?") it would be necessary that Christianity should be revived by a display of miraculous power, not inferior to that which accompanied its foundation. And if the church has ever failed, and there has been no such outpouring of the Spirit in after-times, it must be concluded, that the Christian revelation was designed only for temporary purposes, and that it is now obsolete. Such are the conclusions to which those must be led, who deny the perpetuity of the church or Christian society.

I do not yet enter on the question whether the church of Christ is visible or invisible; all that is here maintained is, that there shall always be a church of Christ in the world; that the Christian society shall never fail. The perpetuity of the church is indeed in some sense admitted by all parties. The creeds which are received by the infinite majority of professing Christians, express a belief in the existence of "one, holy, catholic, apostolic church," which usage can only be founded in the doctrine, that the church was always to continue, for why otherwise should men profess their belief in the existence of the church as an *article of the faith?* We find that such a belief was universal amongst Christians from a very remote period. St. Athanasius says: "The word is faithful, the promise is

unshaken, and the church is invincible, though the gates of hell should come, though hell itself, and the rulers of the darkness of the world therein be set in motion."[k] His immediate predecessor in the see of Alexandria, St. Alexander, had taught the same doctrine: "We confess one and only one catholic and apostolic church, never to be destroyed, though the whole world should war against it."[l] Eusebius observes that the Lord "foretold that not only his doctrines should be preached throughout all the inhabited world, for a testimony to all nations," but "that his church, afterwards composed of all nations by his power . . . should be invincible, unconquerable, and never to be overcome even by death."[m] "Hence," says Jerome, "we understand, that the church may indeed be assailed by persecutions to the end of the world, but cannot be subverted; may be tempted but not overcome: and this will be because the Lord God Almighty, the Lord God of the church, has promised that he will do so, whose promise is the law of nature."[n] Augustine confirms the same truth: "The church shall not be overcome, it shall not be rooted up, nor shall it yield to any temptations, until the end of this world shall come, and we shall be received from this temporal to an eternal habitation."[o]

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k Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἀσάλευτος ἡ ὑπόσχεσις, καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀήττητος, κἂν ᾅδου πύλαι ἐπιγένωνται. κἂν ὁ ᾅδης αὐτὸς κίνηθῇ, κἂν εἰ ἐν αὐτῷ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους.—Athan. Oratio, quod unus sit Christus, tom. ii. p. 51, oper. Benedict.

l Μίαν καὶ μόνην καθολικὴν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀκαθίξετον μὲν οὖσι, κἂν πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῇ πολεμεῖν βουλεύηται.—Alexandri Epist. ad Alex. Const. Theodoret., lib. i. c. iv.

m Τὴν τε ὕστερόν ποτε συστᾶσαν τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκκλησίαν . . . . ἀήττητον καὶ ἀκαταμάχητον ἔσεσθαι καὶ μηδεπώποτε ὑπὸ θανάτου νικηθήσεσθαι. κ. τ. λ.—Eusebii Præpar. Evang., lib. i. c. 3.

n "Ex quo intelligimus Ecclesiam usque ad finem mundi concuti quidem persecutionibus, sed nequaquam posse subverti: tentari, non superari. Et hoc fiet, quia Dominus Deus omnipotens, sive Dominus Deus, ejus, id est, Ecclesiæ, se facturum esse pollicitus est; cujus promissio lex naturæ est." Hieronymus, Comment. in Amos, ad finem, tom. iii. p. 1454. ed. Benedict.

o "Non vincetur Ecclesia, non eradicibitur, nec cedet quibuslibet tentationibus, donec veniat hujus sæculi finis, et nos ab ista temporali æterna illa

It is needless to multiply quotations from the more ancient Christian writers, in testimony of the general belief of professing Christians, that the church of Christ was to exist always on earth. The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds have been already alluded to as intimating this doctrine, and they have been accepted not only by all ancient societies of Christians, but even by those of modern formation. The Reformation made no alteration in this respect, and Bellarmine admits, that many of the Romish theologians had taken much needless pains, in proving against their opponents the perpetuity of the church, which none of them denied.[p] The confession of Augsburgh expressly maintains it. "Item docent, quod sancta ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit."[q] The Helvetic Confession says, "Since God from the beginning wished men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, there must always have been, and now, and even to the end of the world be, a church, that is a congregation of faithful men called forth or collected from the world; a communion of all the holy; of those who truly know and rightly worship the true God in Christ the Saviour, by the Word and Holy Spirit, and who partake by faith of all the benefits freely offered through Christ[r]," &c. Calvin argues that God preserves his church in every age. "Although," he says, "immediately, even from the beginning, the whole race of mankind was corrupted and vitiated by the sin of Adam, yet from this polluted mass he always sanctified some vessels unto honour, lest there should be *any age* which did not experience his mercy. Which also he testified by certain promises such as these: 'I have made a covenant with my chosen, I have sworn unto David my servant, thy seed will I establish for ever, and build up thy throne to all generations' (Ps. lxxxix 3, 4). Again: 'The Lord hath chosen Zion;

habitatio suscipiat." August. Enarr. in Ps. lx. tom. iii. p. 587. oper. ed. Benedict.

[p] Bellarm. de Conciliis et Ecclesia, lib. iii. c. 13.

[q] Art. vii.

[r] Conf. Helvetic, A. D. 1536. cap. 17.

he hath desired it for his habitation. This is my rest forever", &c. (Ps. cxxxii. 13, 14.)[s] In fine, almost all professing Christians regard their respective communities as churches of Christ, and endeavour to prove them to be so; whence it must be supposed that they assume as a principle, that such churches were always to exist. The modern dissenters, in their "Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge," say, "we *cannot doubt* that in this, as in *every preceding age*, such a church exists."[t] In the following section additional proof will be furnished of the general agreement on this subject, from the fact that all parties admit, that the church of Christ is the way of salvation.

The English church expresses her belief in the existence of the church in the Apostolic and Nicene Creeds; and the Articles also invariably speak of the church as still existing. In the hymn 'Te Deum,' the prayer for the church militant, and many other parts of the ritual, the existence of the church is always recognized. This can only arise from a belief that the church was to be perpetual by the divine promises. Nowell observes that we profess our belief in the church, "because unless there be a church, Christ would have died in vain," and all which relates to the causes and foundations of salvation would be in vain and reduced to nothing, for the effect of them is, that there is a church, a certain blessed city and commonwealth, in which we ought to deposit and consecrate all that is ours, and to which we should give ourselves wholly up, and even die for it[u]." Field assumes the perpetuity of the church, to be the general doctrine of the Reformation.[v] Bishop Pearson says: "Though the providence of God doth suffer many particular churches to cease, yet the promise of the same God will never permit that all of them at once should perish. When

[s] Calvin. Institut. iv. c. i s. 17.

[t] Tract on the Christian Ministry, Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 355.

[u] Noelli Catechismus, p. 101. Oxford ed. 1835.

[v] Field, Of the Church, b. i. c. 10.

Christ spake first, particularly to St. Peter, he sealed his speech with a powerful promise of *perpetuity*, saying, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' (Matt. xvi. 18). When he spake generally to all the rest of the apostles to the same purpose. . . . he added a promise to the same effect; 'and lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world.' . . . Wherefore being Christ doth promise his presence unto the church, even unto the end of the world, he doth thereby assure us of the existence of the church until that time, of which his presence is the cause[w]."

SECTION III.

OF SALVATION IN THE CHURCH ONLY.

The Christian revelation is so far necessary to be believed by those to whom it is proposed, that our Lord himself affirms of such: "he that believeth not shall be damned." How far the unsearchable goodness and mercy of God may provide some means of escape for those who are beyond the illumination of the Gospel, we know not: for the Revelation of God only offers salvation in the name of Jesus Christ. But faith in the infinite justice and mercy of God will inspire hope even where revelation is silent; and the apostolic principle, "them that are without God judgeth," will teach us not to condemn those, to whom the way of life has not been pointed out. On the same principles I maintain that salvation is only offered in the church of Christ by divine revelation, and that all men to whom the Gospel is preached must be members of this church when *sufficiently proposed* to them, on pain of being excluded from the favour of God for ever.

That salvation is only to be obtained in the church, may be argued from Scripture thus: "Christ is the head of the body, the church" (Col. i. 18), therefore those who are separated from the church of Christ are separated from his body, and

[w] Pearson, on the Creed, art. ix.

from himself. Now "if any man abide not in Christ, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them and *cast them into the fire and they are burned*" (John xv. 6). We are taught that "Christ is the Saviour of the body," that is, of "the church" (Ephes. v. 23). He is only said to save the church: there is no promise beyond it. It is said that "without faith it is impossible to please God" (Heb. xi. 6); but "how shall men believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be *sent?*" (Rom. x. 14, 15). Therefore there is ordinarily no faith and no salvation except through the teaching of God's ministers; but these ministers are *only* in the church. "God hath set some *in the church;* first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly teachers," &c. (1 Cor. xii. 28). In fine, this doctrine is directly taught in the following passage: "The Lord added to the church daily *such as should be saved*" (Acts ii. 47). Therefore the way of salvation is by divine appointment to be found in the church only.

Such indeed has been at all times the tradition of the Christian community. Theophilus of Antioch says: "God hath given unto the world troubled with waves and storms through sin, those congregations called holy churches, in which, as in secure island havens, the truth is taught; where those who *desired salvation* take refuge."[x] Origen says: "Let no one persuade himself, let no one deceive himself: without this house, that is, without the church, no one is saved."[y] The martyr Cyprian says: "That man cannot have God for his father who has not the church for his mother. If any one could escape the deluge out of Noah's ark, he who is out of

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[x] Οὕτω δίδακεν ὁ Θεὸς τῷ κίσμῳ κυμαινομένῳ καὶ χειμαζομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὰς συναγωγὰς λεγομένας ἐκκλησίας ἁγίας, ἐν αἷς καθάπερ λιμέσιν εὐόρμοις ἐν νήσοις αἱ διδασκαλίαι τῆς ἀληθείας εἰσί· πρὸς ἃς καταφεύγουσιν οἱ θέλοντες σώζεσθαι.—Theophil. Antioch. ad Autolycum, lib. ii. p. 123 ed. Paris, 1624.

[y] "Nemo ergo sibi persuadeat, nemo semetipsum decipiat: extra hanc domum, id est extra ecclesiam nemo salvatur."—Origen. in lib. Jesu Nave Hom. iv. tom. ii. p. 414. oper. ed. Ben.

the church may also escape."[z] "He cannot be a martyr who is not in the church, he cannot come to the kingdom, who deserts that which is to reign."[a] Augustine continues the chain of tradition thus: "No one cometh to salvation and eternal life, except he who hath Christ for his Head; but no one can have Christ for his Head, except he that is in his body, the church."[b] Fulgentius observes, that "Without this church neither doth the name of Christian help in any degree, nor doth baptism save, nor is a clean sacrifice offered to God, nor is remission of sins received, nor is the felicity of eternal life found."[c] These are indeed the sentiments of all the fathers and doctors of the church. I shall only add the testimony of two councils. The synod of Zerta (A.D. 412) said: "Whosoever is separated from this catholic church, however innocently he may think he lives; for this crime alone, that he is separated from the unity of Christ, will not have life, but the wrath of God remaineth on him."[d] The fourth council of Carthage (A.D. 398) directed, that every bishop before his ordination, should be questioned, "whether he believes that there is no salvation beyond the church."[e]

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[z] "Habere jam non potest Deum Patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra arcam Noë fuit; et qui extra Ecclesiam foris fuerit, evadit"—Cypr de Unit. p. 254, ed. Pamel.

[a] "Esse martyr non potest, qui in ecclesia non est: ad regnum pervenire non poterit, qui eam quæ regnatura est, derelinquit."—Ibid. p. 257.

[b] "Ad ipsam vero salutem ac vitam æternam nemo pervenit, nisi qui habet caput Christum. Habere autem caput Christum nemo poterit, nisi qui in ejus copore fuerit, quod est ecclesia."—August. cont. Donatist. Epist. vulgo de Unit. Eccl. tom. ix. p. 392. ed. Benedict.

[c] "Extra hanc ecclesiam nec Christianum nomen aliquem juvat, nec baptismus salvat, nec mundum Deo sacrificium offertur, nec peccatorum remissio accipitur, nec æternæ vitæ fælicitas invenitur."—Fulgentius, de Remissione Peccatorum, lib. i. c. 22.

[d] "Quisquis ergo ab hac Catholica ecclesia fuerit separatus, quantumlibet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo scelere, quod a Christi unitate disjunctus est, non habebit vitam, *sed ira Dei manet super eum.*"—Concil. Zertense, Harduini Concilia, tom i. p. 1203.

[e] "Quærendum etiam ab eo . . . . si extra ecclesiam catholicam nullus salvetur."—Conc. Carthag. iv. cap. i. Harduini Concilia, tom. i. p. 978.

We are not to suppose that this was the opinion of Christians in the primitive ages only: it has been generally admitted in later times. The doctrine of salvation in the church, was held by all the Lutherans and Reformed, and by the sects which separated from them; as well as by the Roman and other churches. Luther teaches, that remission of sins and sanctification are only obtained in it; and Calvin says, "beyond the bosom of the church no remission of sins is to be hoped for, nor any salvation"[f] The Saxon confession presented to the synod of Trent, 1551,[g] the Helvetic confession,[h] the Belgic,[i] the Scottish,[k] all avow that salvation is only to be had in the church. The Presbyterian Divines assembled at Westminster, A.D. 1647, in their "Humble Advice concerning a Confession of Faith," (chap. xxv.) declare that "the visible church which is also Catholique or Universal under the Gospel (not confined

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[f] Luther, speaking of the church, says, "extra hanc Christianitatem, ubi huic evangelio locus non est, neque ulla est peccatorum remissio, quemadmodum nec ulla sanctificatio adesse potest."—Catechismus Major, P. ii. Symbol. Apost. art. iii. "Quia nunc *de visibili* ecclesia disserere propositum est, . . . [non alius est in vitam ingressus nisi nos ipsa concipiat in utero, nisi pariat, nisi nos alat suis uberibus, denique sub custodia et gubernatione sua nos tueatur, donec exuti carne mortali, similes erimus angelis . . . .] Extra ejus gremium nulla est speranda peccatorum remissio, nec ulla salus, teste Iesaia (37, 32) et Joele (2, 32); quibus subscribit Ezechiel (13, 9)," etc—Calvin. Institut. iv. 1. [4.]

[g] Conf. Sax., art. xii. De eccl.

[h] "Communionem vero cum ecclesia Christi vera tanti facimus, ut negemus eos coram Deo vivere posse, qui cum vera Christi ecclesia non communicant, sed ab ea se separant; nam ut extra arcam Noë non erat ulla salus . . . ita credimus, extra Christum, qui se electis in ecclesia fruendum præbet, nullam esse salutem certam."—Conf. Helvet., art. xvii. de Ecclesia.

[i] "Credimus quod cum . . . . extra eam nulla sit salus, neminem . . . . sese ab eo subducere ut seipso contentus separatim degat: sed omnes pariter teneri huic se adjungere, eique uniri, Ecclesiæ unitatem conservare," &c.—Conf. Belgica, art. xxviii.

[k] "Extra quam Ecclesiam nec est vita, nec æterna felicitas."—Conf. Scot., art. xvi.

to one nation as before under the Law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children: and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, *out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation.*"[1] The Independents admitted the same. Dr. Owen, their principal writer, says: "It is required that we believe that the Lord Christ hath had in all ages, and especially hath in that wherein we live, a church on the earth, confined unto no places nor parties of men, no empires nor dominions, or capable of any confinement; as also that this church is redeemed, called, sanctified by him; that it is his kingdom, his interest, his concernment in the world; that thereunto all the members of it, *all the promises of God do belong and are confined;* that this church he will save, preserve, and deliver from all oppositions, so as that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and after death will raise it up, and glorify it at the last day. This is the faith of the catholic church concerning itself; which is an ancient fundamental article of our religion. And if any one deny that there is such a church, called out of the world, separated from it, unto which alone, and all the members of it, all the promises of God do appertain in contradistinction unto all others, or confines it unto a party, unto whom these things are not appropriate, he cuts himself off from the communion of the church of Christ."[m] Even the Quakers admit "that out of the church there is no salvation," though they hold that "there may be members of this catholic church among Heathens, Turks, Jews!"[n] "Beyond all question," say the Dissenters, "the church, and *the church only*, will be finally saved; the church, and the church alone, is the pillar and ground of truth;

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[1] "This confession was approved by the Scottish Presbyterians in their assembly, 1647; and being ratified by their Parliament in 1690, it is still received by them and their collateral societies.

[m] Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church, chap. xi.

[n] Barclay, prop. x. p. 273.

the church, and nothing but the church, secures a living and faithful ministry."[o]

The British churches hold salvation as inseparably connected with the church only. Thus in the office of baptism we pray, that the person to be baptized may be "washed and sanctified with the Holy Ghost, that he, being delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the ark of Christ's church, and being steadfast in faith, &c., may so pass the waves of this troublesome world, that finally he may come to the land of everlasting life:" here the church of Christ is represented as the ark in which alone we obtain salvation. We afterwards pray, that "with the residue of thy holy church he may be an inheritor of thine everlasting kingdom;" evidently implying that the church only shall inherit the kingdom of heaven. And in the collect for Good Friday we pray "for all Jews, Turks, infidels, and heretics, that they may be fetched home to God's *flock*, that they *may be saved* among the remnant of the true Israelites;" evidently implying that salvation is not found out of the church of Christ. Indeed the contrary doctrine of those who say "that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth," is declared Anathema by the xviiith article of the Synod of London, A.D. 1562.

The catechism of Dean Nowell, which was approved by several bishops and theologians in the time of Queen Elizabeth, speaks as follows: "Is there no hope of salvation out of the church? Without it there can be nothing but *damnation*, *destruction* and *perdition*. For what hope of life can remain, when the members are torn or severed from the head or body? Those therefore who seditiously excite discord in the church of God, and cause strife and dissent therein, and disturb it with factions, such men are *cut off from all hope of salvation* through the remission of sins, until they agree and are re-united with the church."[p]

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[o] Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge: Essays on Ch. Polity, vol. ii. p. 367.

[p] Noelli Catechismus, p. 108. ed. Oxon. 1835.

I shall only cite the words of Bishops Pearson, Beveridge, and Wilson, in further confirmation of this doctrine. The first writes thus: "The necessity of believing the Holy Catholic Church appeareth first in this, that Christ hath appointed it as the only way unto eternal life. We read at the first that 'the Lord added daily to the church such as should be saved' (Acts ii. 47); and what was then daily done, hath been done since continually. Christ never appointed two ways to heaven; nor did he build a church to save some, and make another institution for other men's salvation. 'There is no other name under heaven given unto men whereby we must be saved, but the name of Jesus;' and that name is no otherwise given under heaven than in the church. As none were saved from the deluge, but such as were within the ark of Noah, formed for their reception by the command of God: as none of the first-born of Egypt lived, but such as were within those habitations whose door-posts were sprinkled with blood, by the appointment of God, for their preservation; as none of the inhabitants of Jericho could escape the fire and sword, but such as were within the house of Rahab, for whose protection a covenant was made; so none shall ever escape the eternal wrath of God, which belong not to the church of God."[q]

Bishop Beveridge on those words, "the Lord added daily to the church such as should be saved," says, "This being the way and method that he hath settled in the world for the saving of souls, or for the applying that salvation to them which he hath purchased for them, we have no ground to expect that he should ever recede from it." And afterwards: "Seeing therefore that the Holy Ghost hath so positively affirmed that the Lord added to the church such as should be saved, and likewise hath given us such extraordinary instances of it, it is no wonder that the Fathers so frequently assert, that there is no salvation to be had out of Christ's Holy Catholic Church; but that whosoever would be a member of the church triumphant

[q] Pearson on the Creed, art. ix. vol. ii. p. 254.

in heaven, he must first be a member of the church here militant on earth."[r] Bishop Wilson says: "If God addeth to this church such as shall be saved, then if I for my wicked life shall deserve to be separated, cut off, or excommunicated out of any particular church, which is a true member of this Holy Catholic Church, then am I most assuredly deprived of the ordinary means of grace, and out of the way of salvation."[s]

OBJECTIONS.

I. The doctrine of salvation in the church only is a popish and intolerant doctrine.

Answer. (1.) The Romanists are orthodox in maintaining this doctrine in the abstract, but they err in identifying the church exclusively with their own societies. (2.) *Intolerance* might with equal justice be objected to the doctrine of salvation through Christ only: it is therefore a frivolous objection.

II. The church under the law was limited within the province of Judea, yet salvation was obtained by some who were not Jews, as for instance by Job, and by others of the Gentiles.

Answer. (1.) The church of the Jews was only instituted for a particular people, and not for the world generally, as the Christian church was; therefore there was no obligation on other nations to adopt the Jewish polity. (2.) Job and other righteous men of the Gentiles, who were not called to unite themselves with the Jewish church, we know from Scripture itself to have been acceptable to God through faith. But the Scripture does not enable us to judge in general of the state of those who have died in ignorance of Christ, even *after* the Gospel was preached throughout the world; all, however, who believed not when they *heard* it, were condemned.

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[r] Beveridge, Sermon IV. on Acts ii. 47.

[s] Bishop Wilson, Sermon on Acts ii. 32, 33.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH IN GENERAL.

If it be true, as I have endeavoured to prove in the last chapter, that Christ's church was always to continue, even to the end of the world, and that it is the only way of salvation, it is evident that nothing deserves our attentive examination more than the signs by which we can distinguish the church of Christ at present existing. Surrounded by a vast multitude of contending societies calling themselves Christian, and all alike claiming to be churches of Christ, there is an apparent necessity for the discovery of some method, by which, without any extreme difficulty or labour, we may discriminate the church of God from its rivals.

It cannot be requisite to prove that all societies calling themselves Christian, are not necessarily what they pretend to be; nor is it probable that the multiplied "denominations" around us, should be all alike faithful and obedient to our Divine Master. The unanimous opinion indeed, of professing Christians, is, that some of these societies belong not to Christ but to Antichrist. Every particular doctrine and duty of Christianity is made a matter of dispute, and denied or corrupted by some community; and it seems irrational to suppose that God could have instituted "a kingdom divided against itself" on *every* point, torn by *irreconcilable* divisions and mortal enmities, and exhibiting a chaotic confusion even in the most elementary principles of religion. It is incredible, if Revelation be indeed from God, if it be designed for perpetuity, if all men be bound to receive it, and if means be provided by Divine Providence for enabling them to receive it; it is incredible, I say, when all its doctrines and precepts are made matters of dispute, and denied by some, that all professing Christians should be equally included in the church of Christ. Besides this, Christ himself

and the Apostles predicted, that, after their departure, there should arise false Christs and false prophets, Antichrists, and false teachers, who should privily bring in damnable heresies; and that many should be deceived by their arts. These evils were to continue even in the latter days of the world; and therefore there is a very great probability, that some of the communities calling themselves Christian, may have arisen in this manner, and are not to be reckoned as any part of the church of Christ.

By what means then can we determine with certainty, which, among these communities, are indeed portions of the church of God? All declare that they are themselves within its pale: all assert that their doctrines and practice are in accordance with Scripture, and with the commandment of Christ. A hundred different societies present their respective claims to our adherence, on the ground of their peculiar purity and sanctity. The mind is perplexed at their number, and the positiveness of their assertions. The labour of investigating all, or many of these cases in detail, is beyond human power and endurance; and the learning and judgment requisite to determine such a multitude of difficult questions in doctrine and morality, are possessed by very few men; while if the research be commenced fortuitously, without any clue to guide us to those societies which may most probably be of the church of Christ, we may begin by devoting a great deal of time to the examination of objects totally unworthy of our attention.

The precepts of Christian prudence require, that we should take the *briefest* course, consistent with a security of arriving at a sound conclusion in a practical question of such vital importance. "The time is short" to run the race of Christianity, even when we have entered on it: how necessary then is it that we should endeavour to find speedily, as well as certainly, the arena in which it is to be run. It is with such views, that theologians in various ages have endeavoured to lay down rules for the discrimination of Christ's church, by a comparatively short and intelligible process; and these rules are styled *notes* or *signs* of the church. By notes of the

church are meant some of its more prominent attributes, which may be ascertained and applied to all existing communities of professing Christians, without any very lengthened discussion on obscure and difficult points.

In this point of view, general truth of doctrine and general accordance with the law and institutions of Christ do not seem notes such as are here spoken of. Each society pretends its own soundness in these respects, and sustains its own views by scriptural and other arguments; and the critical investigation of all the doctrines and duties of Christianity in controversy, is impossible to the infinite majority of men. It would demand, at all events, too lengthened a process; and even if a society were proved to be in error on some point, it would not follow directly that it is Anti-christian, because it is generally admitted, that there may be doctrinal blemishes, in particular churches, which do not absolutely annul their character. It is not doubtful, indeed, that the church of Christ is on the whole, faithful and obedient to the Revelation of Christ; but the great majority of men are always obliged, absolutely, either to follow the doctrine of their church, or to be uncertain on many points; and it is impossible that they should *discover* the true church, by investigating all those doctrines which, through their ignorance, they are obliged by the arrangements of Divine Providence to receive on her testimony.

The necessity of devising some general notes of the church, and of not entering at once on controversial debates concerning all points of doctrine and discipline, was early perceived by Christian theologians. Tertullian appeals in refutation of the heresies of his age, to the antiquity of the church derived from the Apostles, and its priority to all heretical communities.[a] Irenæus refers to the unity of the church's doctrines, and the succession of her bishops from the Apostles.[b] The universality of the church was more especially urged in the contro-

[a] Præscriptiones adv. Hæreticos.

[b] Adv. Hæreses, lib. i. c. 10; lib. iii.

versy with the Donatists. St. Augustine reckons amongst those things which attached him to the church: The consent of nations, authority founded on miracles, sanctity of morals, antiquity of origin, succession of bishops from St. Peter to the present Episcopate, and the very name of the catholic church.[c] St. Jerome mentions the continual duration of the church from the Apostles, and the very appellation of the Christian name.[d] In modern times Bellarmine of the Roman school, added several other notes, such as: Agreement with the primitive church in doctrine, union of members among themselves and with their Head, sanctity of doctrine and of founders, efficacy of doctrine, continuance of miracles and prophecy, confessions of adversaries, the unhappy end of those who opposed the church, and the temporal felicity conferred on it.[e] Luther assigned as notes of the true church, the true and uncorrupted preaching of the Gospel, administration of baptism, of the eucharist, and of the keys; a legitimate ministry, public service in a known language, and tribulations internally and externally.[f] Calvin reckons only truth of doctrine, and right administration of the sacraments; and seems to reject succession.[g] Our learned theologians adopt a different view in some respects. Dr. Field admits the following notes of the church: Truth of doctrine; use of sacraments and means instituted by Christ; union under lawful ministers; antiquity without change of doctrine; lawful succession, *i. e.* with true doctrine; and universality in the *successive* sense, *i. e.* the prevalence of the church successively in all nations.[h] Bishop Taylor admits as notes of the church, antiquity, duration, succession of bishops, union of members

[c] Contra Epistolam Manichæi Fundamenti, c. 45. Tom. viii. p. 153, ed. Benedict.

[d] Dialogus adversus Luciferianos, tom. iv. pars ii. p. 306, ed. Benedict.

[e] De Ecclesia, lib. iv. cap. 3, &c.

[f] Lutherus, De Ecclesia, et quæ sint notæ, &c., tom., vii, p. 147, oper. ed. 1550, &c.

[g] Institutiones, lib. iv. c. 1. s. 7—9.

[h] Of the Church, b. ii. c. 1, 2, 5, &c.

among themselves and with Christ, sanctity of doctrine, &c.[i]

It is plain that we are not obliged to follow implicitly the judgment of particular theologians in ancient or modern times, in selecting notes of the church. Bellarmine's notes, of temporal prosperity and the unhappy end of the church's enemies, are rejected by Tournely, Bailly,[k] and generally by modern Romish theologians. They also differ with him and several other writers of their communion, on the question of the universality of the church, which they rightly maintain, according to the doctrine of St. Augustine, in the simultaneous and permanent sense, as opposed to the doctrine of successive universality, which Melchior Canus, Bellarmine, and others admitted.[l] We have a right to the same liberty of selection and addition as regards the notes assigned by our theologians; and if any of them have appeared to dwell too much on general truth of doctrine as a note, or to adopt the notion of successive universality, we are in no degree bound to sustain a line of argument which we do not judge to be well founded.

The Constantinopolitan Creed gives to the Church the attributes of "ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, AND APOSTOLICAL;" and as the notes of the church may in fact be included under these four heads, and as Romish theologians generally make use of them for the purpose, I shall for the sake of convenience adopt this arrangement in examining the notes of the church and marking the points in which Romanists and others are to be corrected. But, in order to avoid a preliminary difficulty which might arise on the question whether the church of Christ is visible or invisible, I shall first examine that point.

[i] Dissuasive from Popery, part ii. b. 1, s. 1; art. vi. p. 182, &c., Oxford ed. 1836.

[k] "Multi nihilominus inter Catholicos existimant duas posteriores notas, quas assignat Bellarminus, nempe infelicem exitum hostium ecclesiæ, et felicitatem temporalem eorum qui ecclesiam defenderunt, ab eo expungi debuisse."—Tournely, De Ecclesia, qu. i. art. 2, p. 60. where he argues against these notes.—See also Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. c. v.

[l] Melchior Canus de Locis Theolog. lib. iv. cap. postremum. Resp. ad 13. Bellarmin., l. iv. de Notis Eccl., c. 7.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE VISIBILITY OF THE CHURCH.

By the visibility of the church is meant the manifest, public, known existence of congregations or churches professing Christianity, and joining in external acts of Christian worship. The point which I am about to establish is, that there were always to exist such societies, according to the Divine appointment; and that Christianity was never to be reduced at any time to obscurity; or to be a secret profession, held by a few scattered individuals, living and uniting externally in the profession of a *false* religion. The question of an invisible church will be considered among the objections.

That the church of Christ was to be eminently conspicuous and visible, we collect from the following words of the prophet Isaiah: "It shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's House shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it" (Isa. ii. 2). This shows that the church of Christ was to be conspicuously visible or known to all the world. And the prophet Daniel's expressions are equally remarkable: "The stone that smote the image became *a great mountain* and filled the whole earth" (Dan. ii. 35). This is afterwards explained to mean, that "the God of Heaven shall set up a kingdom which shall *never be destroyed*" (v. 44): that is, the church, which had been before described as "a great mountain," and was therefore to be in the highest degree visible.

The words of Christ Himself prove the visibility of the church, when he says: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v. 14): and it equally follows from his directions in the case of an offending brother: "tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church,

let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican" (Matt. xviii. 17): which proves that the church must be always visible; for were it invisible, this precept would be in vain.

The directions of St. Paul to the Corinthians relating to *judgments* in the church (1 Cor. vi. 4); for the decorous and proper order of divine worship in their religious assemblies (1 Cor. xi); and his rules for the appointment of pastors and teachers (1 Tim. iii. Tit. i), all establish the fact that Christians were formed into visible societies by the Apostles. The churches to whom the Epistles were addressed were all visible societies, known to the heathen, and often persecuted by them. If indeed this had not been the case, but Christianity had been a secret invisible profession, the prophecies of our Saviour that they should be "brought before kings and rulers for his sake," that they should be reviled and persecuted for his name's sake, could not have been fulfilled. In conclusion, it may be asserted without hesitation, that there is *not a single instance in the New Testament of a believer who was not externally united with the rest in the profession of Christianity.* Hence it results that the visible public profession of Christianity in common, is according to the Divine institution, essential to the Christian church.

This is confirmed by the doctrine of primitive tradition, which always describes the church as a visible and conspicuous society. Irenæus says: "The preaching of the church is true and firm, wherein the same way of salvation is shown throughout all the world. For to her has been entrusted the light of God, and thus, the wisdom of God, by which he saveth all men, 'uttereth her voice in the streets, she crieth in the chief place of concourse,' &c. . . . For everywhere the church proclaims the truth, and she is the candlestick with seven branches, bearing the light of Christ.[a] Origen observes, that "we ought not to give heed to those who say, 'Here is Christ,' but do not so manifest him in the church which from the East even to the West is full of glory, which is full of the true light, which is the pillar and

[a] Irenæus adv. Hæres., lib. v. c. xx.

ground of the truth, in which is the whole advent of the Son of Man, who saith to all that are in every place: 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."[b] Cyprian says: "The church of the Lord, full of light, diffuses her rays throughout the whole world. Yet the light which is every where diffused, is one, nor is the unity of the body separated."[c] Chrysostom declares, that "it is easier for the sun to be extinguished than for the church to disappear."[d] Augustine says, "There is no security for the preservation of unity except from the promises of Christ to his church, which being placed on a mountain, as it was said, cannot be hidden; and therefore it is necessary that this church should be known to all parts of the world."[e] And in another place: "Hence it is that the true church cannot be hidden to any one, and hence that which he saith in the Gospel: 'A city set on a hill cannot be hid.'"[f]

It is certain, in fact, that all the Fathers considered the church as visible throughout the world in all its particular churches or congregations. If indeed the church of Christ had not been visible by Divine institution, it could not have been the light of

[b] "Non debemus attendere eis qui dicunt: 'Ecce hic Christus,' non autem ostendunt eum in ecclesia quæ plena est fulgore ab oriente usque ad occidentem, quæ plena est lumine vero, quæ est columna et firmamentum veritatis, in qua tota totus est adventus Filii hominis dicentis omnibus qui ubique sunt: 'Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus vitæ, usque ad consummationem sæculi.'"—Origen in Matt. tract. xxx. tom. ii. p. 865. ed. Benedict.

[c] "Sic et ecclesia Domini luce perfusa per orbem totum radios suos porrigit; unum tamen lumen est, quod ubique diffunditur, nec unitas corporis separatur. Cypri. de Unitate, p. 254. ed. Pamel.

[d] Εὐκολώτερον τὸν ἥλιον σβεσθῆναι, ἢ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀφανισθῆναι.—In illud, vidi Dominum, Hom. iv. tom. vi. p. 122. oper. ed. Bened.

[e] "Nulla est igitur securitas unitatis, nisi ex promissis Dei ecclesiæ declarata, quæ super montem, ut dictum est, constituta, abscondi non potest: et ideo necesse est ut omnibus terrarum partibus nota sit."—Aug. contr. Epist. Parmeniani, lib. iii. c. 5. tom. ix. p. 75. ed. Benedict.

[f] "Hinc fit ut ecclesia vera neminem lateat. Unde est illud quod in Evangelio ipse dicit: Non potest civitas abscondi super montem constituta."—Cont. Petil., lib. ii. c. xxxii. tom. ix. p. 240.

the world or a witness of Christianity, and if it had ever ceased to be visible, the gates of hell might well have been said to have prevailed against it. If the church of Christ, once exalted on the top of the mountains, and spreading herself from Judea to the ends of the earth, could have so far fallen away as to become the kingdom of Antichrist, wherein some few souls alone retained their Christianity in obscurity, while they externally united in the abominations of an Antichristian society; in such a case, it seems impossible to deny that the gates of hell must have prevailed against her. Were there no promise that the church should be always visible, what assurance could we have that any existing community of Christians is a church of Christ? It might be that the true church still lurks unperceived in some corner, or that as yet its members are concealed amongst various communities of professing Christians. It might be that all existing visible churches are Antichristian.

But I proceed to show the general agreement of Christians in modern times that the church is visible. It would be superfluous to prove that those of the Roman obedience and the Eastern churches maintain the visibility of the church: none of them have ever denied it. But the perpetual visibility of the church has been also acknowledged by the Lutherans, the Reformed, and by various sects.

The confession of Augsburg professes, "that there is one holy church which is to endure for ever," that it is "a congregation of saints in which the gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments administered."[g] The preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments are attributes of a visible church only. The Apology also, drawn up by Melancthon, declares, that the impious only communicate *externally* with the true Church, the notes of which are: "the pure doctrine of the gospel, and the sacraments: and this church is properly the pillar

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g "Item docent, quod una sancta Ecclesia perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem Ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta.—Art. vii. de Ecclesia.

of the truth."[h] This proves that they esteem the church a visible society; and the confession of Augsburg denies that "all ceremonies, all old institutions were abolished in their churches,"[i] evidently understanding visible societies. The Saxon confession says, that "the church may be seen and heard according to that text: 'their sound went into all the world;'" and that there is a visible church in which God operates.[k]—The Bohemian confession approved by Luther;[l] the confession of the Reformed of Strasburg;[m] the Helvetic confession;[n] that of Basil in 1536;[o] the Gallican;[p] all speak repeatedly of the church as essentially visible. This was also the doctrine of Calvin, who declares that out of the *visible* church there is no salvation.[q]

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[h] "Docet impios illos quamvis habeant societatem externorum signorum, tamen non esse verum regnum Christi . . . . neque vero somniamus nos Platonicam civitatem, ut quidam impie cavillantur, sed dicimus existere hanc Ecclesiam . . . Et addimus notas: puram doctrinam evangelii et sacramenta."—Apol. Conf. iv. de Ecclesia.

[i] "Falsa enim calumnia est, quod omnes ceremoniæ, omnia vetera instituta in Ecclesiis nostris aboleantur."—Conf. August., pars i. xxii.

[k] "Non igitur de Ecclesia, tanquam de idea Platonica loquimur; sed Ecclesiam monstramus, quæ conspici et exaudiri potest; juxta illud: In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum . . . Dicimus igitur, Ecclesiam visibilem in hac vita cœtum esse amplectentium evangelium Christi, et recte utentium sacramentis, in quo Deus per ministerium evangelii est efficax, et multos ad vitam æternam regenerat."—Conf. Saxon., art. xii.

[l] Confess. Bohemica, cap. viii.

[m] Confessio Tetrapolit., cap. xvi. 16.

[n] Conf. Helvetica, c. xvii. "Militans in terris Ecclesia *semper* plurimas habet particulares Ecclesias, quæ tamen omnes ad unitatem Catholicæ Ecclesiæ referuntur." It is evident that the Church is all through regarded as a visible society.

[o] Art. xiv. xv.

[p] Conf. Gallicana, cap. xxvii.

[q] "In symbolo, ubi profitemur nos credere Ecclesiam, id non solum ad *visibilem*, de qua nunc agimus, refertur, sed ad omnes quoque electos Dei."—Inst., iv. 1. s. 2. "Quia nunc de *visibili* Ecclesia disserere propositum est, discamus vel uno *matris* elogio quam utilis sit nobis ejus cognitio, imo necessaria: quando non alius est in vitam ingressus, &c. . . . . extra ejus

In fact, the Reformed seem generally to have taught the doctrine of the visibility of the church, until some of them deemed it necessary, in consequence of their controversy with the Romanists, who asked them where their church existed before Luther, to maintain that the church might *sometimes* be invisible. This mistaken view appears in the Belgic confession, and was adopted by some of the Protestants; but it arose entirely from their error in forsaking the defensive ground which their predecessors had taken at first; and placing themselves in the false position of claiming the exclusive title of the Church of Christ, according to the ordinary signification of the term. Jurieu, a minister of the French Protestants, has shown this,[r] and has endeavoured to prove that the Church of Christ is essentially visible, and that it never remained obscured without ministry or sacraments, even in the persecutions, or in the time of Arianism. The same truth has been acknowledged by several denominations of dissenters in Britain. Thus the Presbyterian divines of Westminster (1647) declared, that the visible church, which is also Catholic or universal under the Gospel, . . . is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation."[s] Dr. Owen, the chief of the Independents in the seventeenth century, admits the existence of "a *visible* catholic church;"[t] and says, that the "union of the catholic church in all particular churches (which are *visible* according to him,) is *always* the same, inviolable, unchangeable, comprehending all the churches in the world *at all times*,

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gremium nulla est speranda peccatorum remissio, nec ulla salus," &c.—Ibid. s. 4. If salvation is only to be obtained in the *visible* Church, it follows that there must always be a visible Church. He adds, that: "paternus Dei favor et peculiare spiritualis vitæ testimonium ad gregem ejus restringitur: ut *semper exitialis* sit *ab Ecclesia discessio*."—Ibid.

r In his Système de l'Eglise.

s Westminster Confession, chap. xxv.

t Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church, p. 50.

. . . nor to be prevailed against by the gates of hell."[u] In fact, all the dissenting societies claim to be "Churches of Christ," therefore they must admit that the church of Christ was to be visible, which unless they believed that Christ had promised this visibility, they could not be certain of. Even the Quakers admit the visibility of the church. Barclay speaks of the "Christians, as they are stated, in a joint fellowship and communion, and come under a *visible* and outward society; which society is called the Church of God, and in Scripture compared to a body, and therefore named the body of Christ."[v]

Finally, I proceed to show that the visibility of the church is recognized by the British churches and our theologians. The articles of the Synod of London (1562) uniformly regard the church as a visible society; as in the following passages: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered," &c. . . . . "As the Church of Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred; so also the church of Rome hath erred."[w] . . . "The Church hath power to decree rights and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith."[x] . . . . "It is repugnant to the word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have public

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[u] Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church, p. 403.—The modern dissenters in their "Ecclesiastical Library" (on religious Creeds, p. 126.) say; "The Redeemer promised to be with His Church *always, even to the end of the world* . . . . as defending and perpetuating the prosperity of His *whole* body, and maintaining its *purity* and *vitality to the consummation of all earthly things*. And if so, His Church will, *to the end*, continue to *prefer truth to falsehood*, and will preserve that *purity in its ministry* by virtue of its own ever-living purity, which will in vain be attempted by instruments, artificial, and extraneous to itself." No words can more strongly express the perpetuity of the Church, and the total impossibility that it could ever have apostatized. Yet dissent only exists on the supposition that the Universal Church has apostatized.

[v] Barclay's Apology for the Quakers, prop. xi. p. 272.

[w] Art. xix. [x] Art. xx.

prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understood of the people."[y] . . . . "Although in the visible Church . . . . sometimes the evil have chief authority in the administration of the Word and Sacraments; yet forasmuch as they . . . do minister by his commission and authority we may use their ministry."[z] . . . . "That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful as a heathen and a publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church."[a] "Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church." . . . . "Every particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites,"[b] &c. In all these passages the church is uniformly regarded as a *visible society*, in which the Gospel is preached, the Sacraments administered, a ministry presides, rites and ceremonies are decreed, controversies of faith determined, and offenders censured by authority. A visible association; visible sacraments; a visible priesthood, are all supposed to be instituted by Christ, and therefore essential to the church; and there is no trace of the notion that Christianity should ever lie concealed, a few scattered believers, surrounded and overpowered by a triumphant and universal apostacy.

The catechism of Dr. Nowell, approved by several bishops, confesses, that the church of God is visible, and that those who disturb this church, or dissent from it, are without hope of salvation.[c] Bishop Jewell says, that "we believe there is one church of God," and "that there are various orders of ministers in it; that some are deacons, some priests, some bishops,"[d] &c.

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[y] Art. xxiv. [a] Art. xxxiii.

[z] Art. xxvi. [b] Art. xxxiv.

[c] Noelli Catechismus, p. 106. 108. Oxford ed. 1836.

[d] Juelli Apologia, p. 27, 28. Ed. London. 1606.

This plainly refers only to a visible church. Bishop Pearson professes as "a necessary and infallible truth, that Christ by the preaching of the Apostles did gather unto Himself a Church consisting of thousands of believers and numerous congregations, to which He added daily such as should be saved, and will successively and daily add to the same unto the end of the world."[e] This church he had before described as possessing unity of government and sacraments; therefore it was visible. Dr. Field denies that the writers of the Reformation generally maintain the church to be invisible. Bellarmine, he says, labours in vain, "in proving that there is, and *always* hath been a visible church; and that not consisting of some few scattered Christians without order of ministry or use of sacraments; *for all this we do most willingly yield unto;* howsoever, perhaps, *some few* have been of opinion that though all others failing from the faith, the truth of God should remain only in some few of the laity, yet the promise of Christ concerning the perpetuity of His church might still be verified."[f]

I shall conclude with the words of the profound Bishop Butler. "Miraculous powers were given to the first preachers of Christianity, in order to their introducing it into the world: *a visible Church* was established in order to continue it, and carry it on successively throughout all ages. Had Moses and the Prophets, Christ and his Apostles, only taught, and by miracles proved, religion to their contemporaries, the benefit of their instructions would have reached but to a small part of mankind. Christianity must have been in a great degree sunk and forgot in a very few ages. To prevent this, appears to have been one reason why *a visible Church* was instituted; to be like a city upon a hill, a standing memorial to the world of the duty which we owe our Maker; to call men continually, both by precept and instruction, to attend to it, and by the form of religion ever before their eyes, remind them of the reality;

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[e] On the Creed, art. ix. vol. ii. p. 256.

[f] Field, Of the Church, book i. c. 10.

to be the repository of the oracles of God; to hold up the light of revelation in aid of that of nature, and propagate it throughout all generations to the end of the world."[g]

OBJECTIONS.

1. The true Church of Christ consists only of the elect, but the elect are not known and visible to the world; therefore the Church of Christ is invisible.

Answer. I deny the first proposition, if it be understood of election to eternal life. The Church or kingdom of God comprises many who shall not inherit eternal life. This is evident from the parable of the tares and the draw-net, in which it appears that the evil will only be separated from the good at the day of judgment. It is true indeed that the sanctified and elect are principally and essentially the church of Christ; but besides them are many sinners and hypocrites, who belong to the Church, though only externally, temporarily, and imperfectly. The second proposition requires a distinction. I grant that the elect are not visible *as elect*, but I deny that they are not visible as *professing Christians*. There is not a single instance of any saint in the New Testament who did not externally and visibly confess Christ with all other Christians: nor is there an instance of a church whose existence was unknown and secret. On the contrary, a visible profession of Christianity is essential, for, "With the mouth *confession* is made *unto salvation*" (Rom. x. 10); and again: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man confess before the angels of God." As St. Augustine saith: "Faith requires from us the office both of the heart and the tongue; . . . . we cannot be saved unless we labour for the salvation of our neighbours, by professing with our mouth the faith which we bear in our heart."[h] While therefore we admit that those

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[g] Butler's Analogy, part ii. c. i.

[h] "Quoniam scriptum est . . . 'quia justus ex fide vivit,' eaque fides

who are essentially members of the church are not discernible *as such* from hypocritical professors or false brethren, and are therefore in one sense *invisible;* we maintain that they always openly profess Christ, and are therefore always and essentially *visible.*

II. The worship of the faithful is entirely spiritual, therefore the Church is not visible. The former proposition is proved by Scripture. "After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts" (Jer. xxxi. 33). "The hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth" (John iv. 23). "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices" (1 Pet. ii. 5).

Answer. (1.) This proves too much, namely, that no external worship, sacraments, or ordinances were instituted by Christ; which would be contrary to scripture and the general consent of all nations and ages. (2.) These expressions signify that the Christian religion was not to be chiefly typical, ceremonial, and external, like the Jewish, or rather like what it had been made by the Scribes and Pharisees; but chiefly internal, though not without external rites, and the form of a visible church.

III. "The kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii. 21).

Answer. This is only intended to correct the errors of the Jews, who thought it would come with external pomp and power, or "with observation" (verse 20). In these words Christ meant that His dominion was chiefly in the mind and heart; but this does not prove that it was not also to be manifested by external signs of obedience and profession.

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officium a nobis exigit et cordis et linguæ; ait enim Apostolus, 'Corde creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem:' oportet nos esse et justitiæ memores et salutis. Quando quidem in sempiterna justitia regnaturi, a præsenti seculo maligno salvi fieri non possumus, nisi et nos ad salutem proximorum nitentes, etiam ore profiteamur fidem, quam corde gestamus."—August. de Fide et Symbolo, tom. vi. p. 151. ed. Bened.

IV. "When the Son of Man cometh shall He find faith on the earth" (Luke xviii. 8)? it seems, from this, that the visible church, if it then exist, shall not be the church of Christ.

Answer. Christ only speaks of "faith which *worketh by love*" (Gal. v. 6); of which there will be little in the church of Christ in the latter days, "Because iniquity shall abound, the *love* of many shall wax cold" (Matt. xxiv. 12);[1] yet still there shall be some faithful in the visible church of Christ: for "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world;" and again, "We which are alive and remain, shall be caught up . . . . and so shall we ever be with the Lord" (1 Thess. iv. 17).

V. "That day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God" (2 Thess. ii. 3, 4).

Answer. (1.) It does not follow that because there is an apostacy, there is not also a true church. (2.) The man of sin sits in *God's temple*, which still remains God's temple; he usurps the attributes of God, but it does not follow that he is worshipped by all, or even by the majority of those who form the temple; consequently there may be always a true visible church.

VI. The church of God, under the former dispensation, sometimes became invisible, or failed. Thus Elijah says: "The children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left" (1 Kings xix. 10. 14).

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1 This explanation is given by St. Jerome (Dialog. adv. Lucifer.) Augustine, lib. de Unitate, and Sermo 36, de Verbis Dom. Cyprian applies the words to his own time, and explains their meaning as above. "Filius hominis cum venerit, putas inveniet fidem in terra? Videmus fieri quod ille prædixit. In Dei timore, in lege justitiæ, in dilectione, in opere, fides nulla est. Nemo futurorum metum cogitat, diem Domini, et iram Dei . . . . Quod metueret conscientia nostra, si crederet; quia non credit omnino, nec metuit; si autem crederet et caveret; si caveret evaderet."—De Unit. 260.

Answer. (1.) Moses had prophesied or intimated the falling away of the children of Israel (Deut. xxviii. xxix. 25, 26, xxx. 17). (2.) The kingdom of *Judah* retained the true worship of God, at the time Elijah spoke.

VII. The church of Christ was invisible during the time of Arianism.

Answer. Besides the great Athanasius, there were numerous confessors of the truth in all parts of the world; and the church generally held the orthodox faith simply, though Arian bishops were forcibly intruded on her, and some other bishops were apostate, and many were deceived for a time, by artfully-contrived and ambiguous confessions of faith, which they rejected as soon as they discovered their deceit; but orthodoxy was always maintained in the church. "The church," says Augustine, "is sometimes obscured, and as it were clouded, by the multitude of scandals, when sinners bend their bows, that they may privily shoot at them that are true of heart; but even then it is conspicuous in its firmest members; .... Perhaps it was not said in vain, 'as the stars of heaven, and as the sand on the sea-shore;' that by the stars of heaven might be understood the fewer, firmer, more renowned; and by the sand on the sea-shore, that great multitude of the carnal and weak, which sometimes, in peaceable times, appears free and quiet, but sometimes is covered and disturbed by the waves of tribulation and temptation."[k]

VIII. The church of Christ was invisible during the Papal domination.

Answer. I deny that it was so: part of the church was in-

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[k] "Ipsa est quæ aliquando obscuratur, et tamquam obnubilatur multitudine scandalorum, quando peccatores intendunt arcum, ut sagittent in obscura luna rectos corde. Sed etiam tunc in suis firmissimis eminet .... fortasse non frustra dictum sit, 'sicut stellæ cœli, et sicut arena quæ est ad oram maris:' ut in stellis cœli pauciores, firmiores, clarioresque intelligantur; in arena autem maritimi littoris magna multitudo infirmorum atque carnalium, quæ aliquando tranquillitate temporis quieta et libera apparet, aliquando autem tribulationum et tentationum fluctibus operitur atque turbatur."—August. Epist. xciii. al. xlviii. tom. ii. p. 243. ed. Bened.

deed subdued by the pontiffs, but the church at large existed and was visible, as I shall hereafter prove.

IX. If the church of Christ is always visible, the Protestant and Reformed church could not have been the church of Christ, for it was not visible before the Reformation.

Answer. (1.) I shall hereafter prove that although the Lutheran and Reformed communities, as such, were not churches of Christ, yet that they were not cut off from the church, but were so far united to it, as to be capable of salvation. (2.) The British churches have always been visible.

X. If the church of Christ is always visible, the Reformation was unjustifiable; for the xixth article of the Church of England, and the Lutheran, and other Confessions, affirm that the visible church is a society in which "the pure word of God is preached," and "the sacraments duly administered" in "all things necessary." Therefore there was no need of reformation; and those who opposed the doctrine of the visible Roman church, were enemies of Christ.

Answer. The pure word of God means the doctrine certainly revealed by Jesus Christ, neither mutilated nor corrupted by heresies. The church, generally, never taught any other. But erroneous opinions, not directly contrary to faith, and superstitious practices, were introduced by individuals, and became prevalent; and hence it became necessary to correct and reform abuses.[1] The Reformation was not directed against any doctrines defined by the Catholic church, as will be seen in the course of this work.

XI. Several Protestant divines have considered the church as sometimes invisible.

Answer. (1.) With Dr. Field, I deny that the Protestants have generally said so; I have proved the contrary. (2.) The authority of a few recent theologians is to be entirely disregarded when opposed to Scripture and the sentiments of the church generally, which it is in this instance.

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[1] For proof that erroneous opinions and practices may for a time prevail very commonly in the Catholic church, see Part iv. Chapter vi.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN RESPECT OF COMMUNION.

The question of the unity of the church embraces many topics of the highest importance in religious controversy. I propose to treat of it under the two general heads of Unity in *Communion* and Unity in *Faith*. The former of these is to be the subject of our present consideration.

I design to prove,

First, That external, visible communion between all Christians, in matters of religion, was instituted and commanded by God.

Secondly, That separation from this communion, either by a voluntary act, or by the legitimate judgment of the church itself, excludes from the church or the kingdom of Christ.

Thirdly, That there is no promise that external communion shall never be interupted in the Catholic church.

From these principles several conclusions will be deduced, which may greatly aid us in distinguishing the church of Christ.

SECTION I.

ON THE OBLIGATION OF EXTERNAL COMMUNION.

The general duty of religious communion among Christians is to be inferred from their mutual relations, from the duty of charity enjoined by Christ and the Apostles, from the practice of the church instituted by them, and finally, from universal tradition and the general consent of professing Christians.

1. All Christians "are the *children of God* by faith in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 26), who is "the first-born among many *brethren*" (Rom. viii. 29). As brethren they are bound to all the duties of the fraternal relation in religion; and this neces-

sarily infers a visible communion and amicable intercourse in religious matters. Christ is described in Scripture as "the head of the body, the church" (Col. i. 18); and Christians are "one body in Christ, and every one members one of another" (Rom. xii. 5.) This implies the very closest ties and strongest mutual interest between all Christians; and therefore, as a necessary consequence, their external communion.

2. The duty of charity, so often urged by the Saviour himself, involves, necessarily, the same thing: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye *love* one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another" (John xiii. 34). Obedience to this precept would necessarily lead to that perfect unity, for which he so earnestly supplicated in these words: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe in me through their word, that they all may be *one:* as Thou, Father, art in me, and I in Thee, that they also may be *one* in us . . . . that they may be *one even as we are:* I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made *perfect in one:* and that the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast loved me" (John xvii. 20—23). This perfect unity, for which our blessed Saviour so earnestly prayed, was to be the result of Christian charity; and it obviously includes the notion of external communion in all religious matters, for how could those who should refuse to hold any religious intercourse with their brethren, be accounted in any way obedient to the dictates of divine charity?

3. Accordingly the Apostles not only urged unceasingly the necessity of possessing this holy virtue, "the bond of perfectness," but of fulfilling all the duties of external intercourse which flowed from it. Their admonitions were: "That ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind striving *together* for the faith of the gospel;" "Let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing" (Phil. i. 27, iii. 16); "Not forsaking the *assembling of ourselves together*, as the manner of some is" (Heb. x. 25); "Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren," &c. (1 Pet. iii. 8); "With

long-suffering forbearing one another in love, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. iv. 2, 3); "Fulfil ye my joy . . being of one mind . . Let nothing be done through strife or vain glory" (Phil. ii. 2): and, finally, what is strongest of all: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same things, and that there be *no divisions* among you, but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren . . . . that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ," &c. (1 Cor. i. 10—12). Nothing can prove more plainly the religious communion of the Christian brethren, and the holy zeal of the apostle to preserve it perfect and unimpaired by the least division.

4. We observe the effects of such exhortations and instructions in the state of the church then. In every place the brethren assembled together to partake of the "one bread" which united them by such sacred ties, and to hear the exhortations of the same "rulers" who were established in the church by God, to "give account for their souls." And farther, the Christians of the church in each particular locality, communicated with their brethren in all other places, as they had opportunity. The churches of Macedonia, of Corinth, and Galatia, made contributions for those of Judea. The church of Antioch sent relief to the brethren in Judea, and transmitted it to the elders of that Church by the hands of Barnabas and Saul; and they again evinced their communion by sending messengers to consult the apostles who presided there. The church of Ephesus wrote to the disciples in Achaia, exhorting them to receive Apollos (Acts xviii. 27). Paul was accompanied to Troas by members of the churches of Berea, Thessalonica, Derbe, and Asia; and all were present when the church at Troas met to "break bread" (Acts xx. 4. 7). St. Paul commanded the Romans to receive Phœbe, a deaconess of Cenchrea, "in the Lord" (Rom. xvi. 1). "The

churches of Christ" saluted the faithful of Rome (xvi. 16). The churches of Asia "saluted" that of Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 19). Letters of commendation were given to the faithful who went from one church to another in travelling, or for some lawful cause (2 Cor. iii. 1). The Colossians were enjoined to salute the brethren of Laodicea, and to cause their epistles to be read in the church of the Laodiceans, and likewise to read the epistle from Laodicea (Col. iv. 15, 16).

It is clear then, that the churches of Christ all held communion in various ways; aiding each other, exchanging salutations, admitting those who brought letters of commendation to the assemblies and rites of the church, seeking for mutual advice. This was all instituted by the Apostles in accordance with the will of God.

The same external communion and intercourse continued in the church. Thus the Roman church had a custom, accounted ancient in the second century, of sending pecuniary aid to that of Corinth, and many others.[a] The same church, under its bishop, St. Clement, wrote to the Corinthians, exhorting them to unity. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, wrote to many churches; Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, followed his example;[b] the venerable Polycarp came to Rome to consult on the time of keeping Easter; and Anicetus, the bishop, to testify his communion, permitted him to consecrate the eucharist in his presence.[c] Finally, the use of commendatory letters was universal;[d] and the bishops and presbyters assembled in numerous councils, and sent their judgments and circular epistles to all churches throughout the world.

5. The doctrine of all Christians, from the earliest ages, was in perfect accordance with this apostolical practice. They

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[a] Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, states this in an epistle to Soter of Rome. —Euseb. Hist. iv. 23. Dionysius of Alexandria, also.—Euseb. vii. 4.

[b] Euseb. Hist. iv. 23.

[c] Irenæus, cited by Eusebius, v. 24.

[d] Bingham, Origines Eccles. v. 1. s. 3.

esteemed it a most grievous and inexcusable sin, to separate from the communion of the church; and regarded all who did so, as cut off from Christ. The very same doctrine has been confessed by professing Christians of all "denominations" in later ages, but I reserve for the succeeding section the proof of this general consent.

SECTION II.

ON SCHISM AND SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH.

Particular churches were instituted by the apostles in obedience to the divine will, not to *divide*, but to *organize* the church universal. Their establishment was necessary, to provide for the ordinary exercise of divine worship in common, and for the preservation of religion; because, from the universality of the Christian society, it was impossible that the same teachers should ordinarily instruct all nations; but this arrangement, which was rendered essential by the constitution of human nature, could never impair the sacred relations of fraternity and fellow-membership, which resulted from their mutual communion with God, nor the duty of external communion with all Christians, which followed from those relations.[e] Hence the communion of the church is two-fold, and there may be offences against it in two ways: either in dividing the communion of a particular church, or in dividing that of the universal church. The one arises when professing Christians divide, or refuse to communicate with the particular church of which they are members: the other, when particular churches refuse to communicate with the universal church; that is, with the great body of Christians. The offence against communion is called *schism;* and schism, in its extremest degree, is *separation*, *dissent*, or (as it is sometimes called) *heresy*. Division, or schism, is *partial*, when no rival worship is estab-

[e] "Though the Church in the world be one, yet every city has its own Church, and it is one in all, for though there are many, it is one in many." —Hilarius Pictav. Commentar. in Ps. xiv. p. 62, ed. Ben.

lished, or when the communion of the great body of the church is not rejected, nor withdrawn by a legitimate judgment: but when one or more professing Christians separate themselves from the communion of a particular church, and from that of the great body of Christians, or are cut off from it by a regular and legitimate judgment, they are *totally* separated from the church of God.

I shall first speak of voluntary separation from the church, and afterwards of separation by excommunication.

1. Schism, even in the smallest degree possible, was forbidden by the apostles: "I *beseech* you, brethren, *by the name of Jesus Christ*, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be *no divisions* among you, but that ye be *perfectly joined together*," &c. (1 Cor. i. 10); and the offence of raising such divisions was so serious, that they who were guilty of it were not to be treated as Christians,—they were to be separated from communion: "Now I beseech you, brethren, *mark* them which cause *divisions* and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and *avoid them*, for they that are such, *serve not our Lord Jesus Christ*" (Rom. xvi. 17, 18). They are thus classed with "fornicators, covetous, idolaters, railers, drunkards, extortioners," with whom also Christians are "not to keep company" (1 Cor. v. 11). If it be supposed, as it has been by some, that by "them which caused divisions," was here meant only such as excited *disturbance* in some particular church; how much more grievous was the offence of actually separating totally from the communion of Christians, establishing a rival worship, and a rival church, and endeavouring to seduce and tempt the brethren to forsake the society of the faithful, and of those pastors whom God had commanded them to "obey" (Heb. xiii. 17). The Apostle, whose spirit was all charity and affection, in speaking of such men, reveals the awful truth that they had *never* been known to Christ: "They *went out from us*, but they were *not of us*, for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us;" their separation was by an act of divine judgment, manifesting their

estrangement from Christ: "They went out, that they might *be made manifest*, that they were not all of us." "But ye," he proceeds, addressing those that remained, "have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things" (1 John ii. 19, 20).

The character of separation is again drawn by Jude, the apostle: "These be they who *separate* themselves, sensual, *not having the Spirit*" (Jude 19); and hence it was that the Fathers taught that no good men can possibly be among those, who voluntarily forsake the church. "Let no one imagine," says Cyprian, "that good men *can* depart from the church: the wind scattereth not the wheat, nor doth the storm overthrow the tree supported by a solid root. Empty straws are tossed by the tempest; weak trees are prostrated by the violence of the whirlwind. Such as these are execrated and smote by John the apostle, saying: 'They went out from us, but they were not of us,' &c."[f] Augustine adds his testimony to the same doctrine: "Let us hold it as a thing unshaken and firm, that no good men *can* divide themselves from the church."[g] It is not indeed to be supposed or believed for a moment, that divine grace would permit the really holy and justified members of Christ to fall from the way of life. He would only permit the unsanctified, the enemies of Christ, to sever themselves from that fountain, where his spirit is given freely. "In the church," says Irenæus, "did God place the apostles, prophets, teachers, and every operation of the Spirit, whereof they are not partakers, who do not run unto the church, but defraud themselves of life by their evil opinions and most wicked deeds; for where the

[f] "Nemo existimet bonos de ecclesia posse discedere. Triticum non rapit ventus, nec arborem solida radice fundatam procella subvertit. Inanes paleæ tempestate jactantur, invalidæ arbores turbinis incursione evertuntur. Hos execratur et percutit Joannes apostolus' dicens," &c.—Cypr. de Unitate, p. 256. ed. Pamel.

[g] "Inconcussum firmumque teneamus, nullos bonos ab ea (ecclesia) se posse dividere."—Adv. Parmenian. lib. iii. c. 5.

church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there also the church and every grace exist."[h]

We may therefore conclude, that voluntary separation from the church of Christ is a sin against our brethren, against ourselves, against God; a sin which, unless repented of, is eternally destructive to the soul. The heinous nature of this offence is incapable of exaggeration, because no human imagination, and no human tongue can adequately describe its enormity.

2. It is certain that the primitive Christians regarded communion between Christians as a thing absolutely necessary, and viewed those who separated from it as sinners. "Remain inseparably united to Jesus Christ and your Bishop, and the ordinances of the apostles," said the martyr Ignatius: "He who is within the altar is clean; but he who is without, that is without the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons, is not clean."[i] "As children of light and truth, avoid the division of unity, and the evil doctrines of heretics."[k] Irenæus says:—"The spiritual man will also judge those who work divisions; vain men, devoid of the love of God, seeking their own advantage more than the unity of the church; who for trifling, nay for any causes, rend and divide the great and glorious body of Christ, and as far as in them lies, slay it; who speak peace, and work warfare; who truly strain at the gnat, and swallow the camel; for no improvement can be made by them so great, as is the evil of schism."[l] Cyprian continues the chain of tradition: "Whosoever, divorced from the church, is united to an

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[h] "In ecclesia enim, inquit, posuit Deus apostolos, prophetas, doctores, et universam reliquam operationem Spiritus, cujus non sunt participes omnes qui non currunt ad ecclesiam, sed semetipsos fraudant a vita per sententiam malam et operationem pessimam. Ubi enim ecclesia, ibi et Spiritus Dei; et ubi Spiritus Dei, illic ecclesia et omnis gratia."—Adv. Hæres. iii. 24. p. 223.

[i] Epist. ad Trall.

[k] Epist. ad Philadelph.

[l] "Nulla enim ab eis tanta potest fieri correctio, quanta est schismatis pernicies."—Adv. Hæres. iv. c. 33. al. 62. p. 272.

adulteress, is separated from the church's promises; nor shall that man attain the rewards of Christ, who relinquishes his church. He is a stranger, he is profane, he is an enemy .... He who assembles, except with the church, scatters the church of Christ."[m] "An enemy of the altar, a rebel against Christ's sacrifices; as to faith, false; as to religion, sacrilegious; a disobedient servant, an impious son, a hostile brother; contemns the bishops and forsakes the priests of God, dares to constitute another altar, to offer another prayer with unlawful words, to profane the truth of the Lord's oblation by false sacrifices; nor deigns to know, that he who contends against the divine ordinance, is punished for his audacious rashness by the divine judgment."[n] Dionysius of Alexandria writes thus to Novatus, who had formed a schism from the church of the Romans: "If, as you say, you were compelled unwillingly (to be ordained head of the new sect) you will prove it by your voluntary *return*. It were indeed better to have suffered *any evil*, than to have divided the church of God; nor would martyrdom, for the sake of not dividing, have been less glorious; yea, in my opinion, more so: for, in one case, martyrdom is for the sake of one's own soul; in the other, for the whole church. If even now you will persuade or oblige the brethren to return to concord, your merit will be greater than your offence. The one will not be imputed, the other will be praised. But if they should be disobedient, and you cannot accomplish it, *save your own soul*."[o] It would fill volumes to transcribe the various arguments of the Fathers against separation from the church.[p] The holy Cyprian wrote

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[m] "Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a promissis ecclesiæ separatur. Nec perveniet ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est: profanus est: hostis est .... Qui alibi præter ecclesiam colligit, Christi ecclesiam spargit."—De Unit. p. 254.

[n] Ibid. p. 258.

[o] Εἰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ .... εἰ δὲ ἀπειθεύνταν ἀδυνατοίης, σώζων σῶζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχήν.—Euseb. Hist. vi. 45.

[p] [It is to be observed, that all the passages above cited, indeed all the

a treatise against it,[q] and Optatus, Augustine, and many others, have written copiously against the various sects of the Novatians, Donatists, Manichæans, &c. who had separated themselves from the communion of the church. Augustine declares, that "there is nothing more grievous than the sacrilege of schism."[r]

3. Nor were these merely the sentiments of the early ages, they were always received by the whole body of Christians up to the period of the Reformation, and by the infinite majority of professing Christians for a long time after. All agreed that Christians ought to hold external communion with their brethren everywhere, and that separation from the church was a grievous sin. Calvin affirms, that "*a departure from the visible church* is a denial of God and Christ; wherefore we must beware of so wicked a dissent, because when we are attempting, so far as in us lies, the ruin of God's truth, we deserve to be crushed beneath the thunders of his extremest wrath. Nor can any more atrocious crime be imagined, than the violation, by sacrilegious perfidy, of that marriage, which the only begotten Son of God has deigned to contract with us."[s] The nonconformist Baxter

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denunciations of schism previous to the Donatist secession, refer to it, not as between churches and churches, nor between a part of the Catholic body of Christ and the remainder, nor between a body of men once members of the church universal and the whole body of believers with whom they had then been associated; but as between an individual, or individuals, and the bishops to whose flock the providence of God had assigned them. Schism, with the ante-Nicene fathers, is separation from the communion of *a church*, involving as a necessary consequence, separation from the church *Catholic*. Such separation they regarded as the denial or forsaking of Christ, represented by his ἀποστολος or *sent* servant, who constituted the centre of unity for each individual member, clerical or lay, of the church committed to his charge. The latter were to look beyond that centre only in the case of rival pretensions to a see. Then, the recognition of either party by the church Catholic legitimated his claim.]

[q] De Unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ.

[r] Cont. Parmenian. ii. 2.

[s] "Unde sequitur, discessionem ab ecclesia, Dei et Christi negationem esse: quo magis a tam scelerato dissidio cavendum est: quia dum veritatis

says: "He that is out of the church, is without the teaching, the holy worship, the prayers and the discipline of the church; and is out of the way where the Spirit doth come, and out of the society which Christ is especially related to: for he is the Saviour of the body, and if we once *leave* his hospital, we cannot expect the presence and help of the physician. Nor will he be a pilot to them who *forsake* his ship, nor a captain to those who *separate* from his army. Out of this ark there is nothing but a deluge, and no place of rest or safety for a soul."[t] Owen the independent observes of the communion of churches, that "the church that confines its duty unto the acts of its own assemblies, cuts itself off from the external communion of the church catholic; nor will it be *safe for any man* to commit the conduct of his soul to such a church;"[u] and again: "That particular church which extends not its duty beyond its own assemblies and members, is fallen off from the *principal end* of its institution. And every principle, opinion, or persuasion, that inclines any church to confine its care and duty unto its own edification only, yea, or of those only which agree with it in some peculiar practice, making it neglective of all due means of the edification of the church catholic, is schismatical."[v] Owen accordingly admits

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Dei ruinam, quantum in nobis est, molimur, digni sumus ad quos conterendos toto iræ suæ impetu fulminet. Nec ullum atrocius fingi crimen potest, quam sacrilega perfidia violare conjugium, quod nobiscum unigenitus Dei Filius contrahere dignatus est."—Calvin, Institut. iv. c. i. § 10.

[t] Baxter's "Cure of Church Division."

[u] True nature of the Gospel Church, p. 413.

[v] Ibid. 414, 415. Even in the present day the Independents, as they say, "believe that Jesus Christ directed *his followers to live together in Christian fellowship*, and to maintain the communion of saints; and that for this purpose, they are *jointly* to observe all divine ordinances, and maintain that church order and discipline, which is either expressly enjoined by inspired institution, or sanctioned by the undoubted example of the apostles, and apostolic churches."—Declaration of faith of the Congregational or Indep. Dissenters, A.D. 1833, (No. 20.) The dissenting "Library of Eccl. Knowledge" says, that among the "*duties* and enjoyments" of churches, is, "*communion* with other churches, in letters recommendatory or dismissory,

the propriety, and even necessity, of synods, and other modes of mutual aids and communication. Even now societies of various "denominations," hold it their duty to communicate with all of their own party. The Independents and Baptists unite in "Unions," and send messages to their brethren in America, and elsewhere. The Presbyterians meet in synods, the Methodists in conference. Lutherans, Calvinists, Romanists, &c. all feel it their bounden duty to communicate with those whom they regard as constituting the church of Christ; and *generally*, the separation of a new sect from any of their communions is regarded as wrong, though some societies are prevented by their principles, from opposing what they confess to be a grievous evil.

4. It is needless to spend much time in detailing the doctrine of English theologians, and of our churches on this subject. The canons of the synod of London, A.D. 1603, excommunicate any who shall separate from the church, or who shall affirm that any meetings, assemblies, or congregations within this land, which are separated from the established churches, may rightly assume the name of true churches.[w] Nowell's Catechism says of those, "who cause strife and dissent in the church and disturb it with factions, that such men are cut off from all hope of salvation through the remission of sins, until they agree and are reconciled with the church."[x] Archbishop Usher speaks of communion in the universal church as follows: "Thus must we conceive of the catholic church, as of one entire body made up of the collection and aggregation of all the faithful unto the unity thereof; from which union there ariseth unto every one of them such a relation to, and a dependence upon the church catholic, as parts use to have in respect of their whole.

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when members remove from one place to another. These, and all *other expressions of Christian regard* to sister churches . . . . . are a part of the *communion of saints*, which constitutes one of the greatest blessings of the *true Catholic church*," &c.—On Ch. Discipline, Essays on Ch. Polity, vol. ii. p. 417.

[w] Canons, ix, x, and xi.

[x] P. 108. Oxford ed. by Jacobson.

Whereupon it followeth, that neither particular persons, nor particular churches, are to work as several divided bodies by themselves, which is the ground of all schism; but are to teach, and to be taught, and to do all other Christian duties, as parts conjoined unto the whole and members of the same commonwealth or corporation."[y] Bishop Pearson says: "It is necessary to believe the church of Christ, which is but one; that being in it, we may take care never to cast ourselves or be ejected out of it. . . . . A man may not only passively and involuntarily be rejected, but also may by an act of his own, cast out or reject himself, not only by plain and complete apostacy, but by a defection from the unity of truth, falling into some damnable heresy; or by an active *separation*, deserting all which are in communion with the catholic church, and falling into an irrecoverable schism. . . . There is a necessity of believing the catholic church, because except a man be of that, he can be of none."[z] Finally, I shall cite the words of Archbishop Potter: "Whoever is separated from any sound part of the church by schism or just excommunication, is by that means separated from the whole church. Just as we find in natural bodies, that in one body there are many members, and whatever is united to any one of them, is thereby united to the whole body; as on the contrary, whatever is cut off from any member, does by that separation lose its union with the whole body. . . . Whence appears the *necessity* which every Christian lies under, of maintaining communion with the particular church wherein he lives, in order to his communion with the church catholic, and with *Christ* the head of it."[a]

5. We may infer from the preceding part of this section, that *separation from the Church is incapable of justification.* No excuse can be admitted in the case of positive and deadly sin, except the plea of *ignorance;* and this does not render the act

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[y] Sermon before the King, on Eph. iv. 13.

[z] On the Creed, art. Holy Catholic Church.

[a] Church Government, p. 459.

less heinous, though he who commits it may be "beaten with few stripes." To separate openly from the universal church, or, which is the same thing, to separate from a particular church, on grounds and principles which equally involve separation from the universal church, is, as I have said, inexcusable; and St. Augustine affirms it thus: "We are certain that no one can justly have separated himself from the communion of all nations;"[b] and long afterwards Calvin acknowledged the same: "Let both these truths remain fixed; that he who voluntarily deserts the external communion of a church, where the word of God is preached and his sacraments administered, is *without excuse;* and that the vices of few or of many are *no obstacle* to prevent us from professing our faith *there*, by means of the ceremonies instituted by God."[c]

The excuses which may be offered are of various sorts. Personal edification and spiritual improvement, correction of deficiencies in discipline, rites, &c., and other advantages may be alleged to justify separation. These are all overthrown immediately by the apostle: "As we be slanderously reported and as some affirm that we say, Let us *do evil* that *good may come*, whose *damnation is just*."[d] Irenæus replied to a similar argument adduced by the heretics of his time: "No correction can be made by them so great, as is the mischief of schism."[e]

It may be said that it is necessary to forsake the church, because its external communion includes evil men unsanctified by the Spirit of God. But the church is compared by our Saviour himself to a net, in which are all manner of fishes, both good and bad; to a field in which tares grow to the harvest: and the churches founded by the apostles contained unsanctified members, for instance, those of Corinth, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, &c. The true church can never be free from evil

[b] "Nos autem certi sumus, neminem se a communione omnium gentium juste separare potuisse."—Epist. 93. al. 48. c. 9. p. 242. Tom. ii. ed. Bened.

[c] Instit. iv. c. 1. s. 19.

[d] Rom. iii. 8.

[e] Adv. Hæres. lib. iv. c. xxxiii. al. lxii. p. 272. ed. Benedict.

members, until after the day of judgment, and he who pretends to render it otherwise sets himself above Christ. This was the heresy of the Donatists, against whom St. Augustine often and convincingly argued. "The good," said he, "are not to be deserted on account of the evil, but the evil to be tolerated on account of the good, as the prophets tolerated those against whom they spoke such great things, nor did they relinquish communion in sacraments with that people; as our Lord himself tolerated the wicked Judas unto his deserved end, and permitted him to communicate at the holy supper with the innocent; as the apostles tolerated those who preached Christ through envy; as Cyprian tolerated the covetousness of his colleagues, which, according to the apostle, he called idolatry."[f] The truth is, that every church and society of professing Christians, without exception, contains bad men and hypocrites; and were this a sufficient reason to separate from the church, there could be no such thing in the world as church communion. Calvin's doctrine on this subject I have cited already; he devotes a large space to the refutation of the notion that the existence of evil members in the church justifies separation from it. The Lutherans too, in the Apology for the Confession of Augsburgh, say: "Christ admonished us in his discourses on the church, not to excite schisms through our offence at the private vices of priests or people, as the Donatists wickedly did. And as for those who have raised schisms because they denied the lawfulness of the clergy's holding possessions or property, we judge them plainly seditious." &c.[g]

The mere existence of doctrinal errors, or the corruption of rites and sacraments in any church, afford no excuse whatever for separation from its communion. The abuses of the Co-

[f] August. Epist. 93. al. 48. c. 4. tom. ii. p. 237. ed. Bened.

[g] "Monuit nos Christus in collationibus de ecclesia, ne offensi privatis vitiis sive sacerdotum, sive populi, schismata excitemus; sicut scelerate fecerunt Donatistæ. Illos vero, qui ideo excitaverunt schismata, quia negabant sacerdotibus licere tenere possessiones aut proprium, plane seditiosos judicamus."—Apologia Confessionis, art. iv. de ecclesia.

rinthians, the errors of the Galatians, did not justify any separation from those churches; on the contrary the duty of union was strongly inculcated on them by the apostle. Calvin affirms that while a pure ministry of the word and sacraments exists, "a church is never to be rejected as long as it persists in them, although otherwise it abounds in faults. Moreover, somewhat of corruption might creep into the administration of the sacraments themselves, which ought not to alienate us from its communion."[h] If the doctrines or practice of his particular church, or even those most commonly prevalent around him, appear to any Christian imperfect or corrupt, it is an office of charity to endeavour to promote, as far as he can, a purer system, provided it be done with humility and wisdom; but he should not forsake the body of Christ, because in some part it may be ailing. I speak here only of faults and defects which do not amount to a rejection of what God has plainly revealed, or to a manifest contradiction and disobedience to his commandment; because if any church of Christ should be guilty of such a rejection and contradiction, and obstinately persist in them, it would be *apostate*, and cease *ipso facto* to be a church of Christ; and therefore he who should forsake its communion, would not forsake the communion of the church, but of a synagogue of Satan; and in this case, the precept of Christ would oblige his disciples to separate utterly from the apostate community, and remain united with the true church. Separation from such a society is as much a duty as separation from heathenism and idolatry; and therefore it is a case which affords no justification to him that forsakes the *church of Christ*. Those who, either at the Reformation, or at other times, pretended to justify their voluntary separation from any society of professing Christians, always did so on the plea that it was an *apostate* society, and therefore not a church of Christ; and wherever this plea was well founded they were perfectly justified.

[h] Institut. iv. c. i. s. 12.

ON SEPARATION BY EXCOMMUNICATION.

6. A case might occur, in which individuals should violate the duty of charity towards some of the brethren, or towards the particular church of which they were members, and yet should by no means wish to separate from the rest of the brethren throughout the world, but rather desire to retain all the advantages resulting from their communion. In a case like this the Christian society may be purified from such false brethren by its own act. The Apostolic admonition: "Mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned: and *avoid them*;"[i] recognizes the right and the duty of Christians, to separate themselves from those that offend extremely against charity; and our blessed Saviour authorizes those against whom any brother has trespassed, and who, after repeated endeavours, cannot induce him to repent of his fault, to "tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." "Verily I say unto you," he adds, "Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."[k] This empowers the church to take cognizance of all offences against charity. The decree of the church, however, is to be supposed necessarily to have two conditions; first, that it be founded on an *examination of the facts of the case*, without which extreme injustice might occur;[l] and injustice could never be accordant with the design of the righteous and merciful Judge of all the earth; and secondly, that the judgment of the church be *unanimous*, or nearly so. The judgment of the church greatly divided; or the judgment of a portion of the church, the remainder delivering no opinion, could not be invested with that authority and unity which are to be inferred from the terms used by our Saviour: "If he shall not hear *the church*," &c.

[i] Rom. xvi. 17.

[k] Matt. xviii. 15—18.

[l] That Christ has only promised his assistance and authority to the

If then individuals should be condemned by a particular church, but that sentence should be disallowed by the great body of the church universal, they are not cut off from the church of Christ. If a particular church should be condemned on some account by a *portion* of the universal church, but not by another considerable portion, it is not to be held as heathen and separated; because the whole, or nearly the whole body of the faithful, has not united in the judgment. If individuals or churches have been condemned by a large portion of the church universal, and it can be clearly *proved* that the facts of the case have not been investigated, such a sentence is to be held invalid and unratified in heaven. If however the condemnation of the universal church is unanimous, and there is no proof of any marked injustice in the proceedings, those who are condemned for offences against charity, ought to be held of all the brethren as "heathen men and publicans." We see

church on such conditions, even in deciding questions of *faith*, is asserted by Melchior Canus, Tournely, Delahogue, and the Romish theologians generally. The first says: "Communc est, crede mihi, omnibus ecclesiæ judicibus, ut si decreta ediderint temeritate quadam, sine judicio, repentino quasi vento incitati, nihil omnino conficiant, quod solidum, quod grave, quod certum habeatur." (Loci Communes v. de Conciliis, p. 147. ed. Patav. 1762.) The second says, that Christ only promised his presence to the church assembled in councils, when "servata suffragiorum libertate, et adhibita humana industria et diligentia, veritatem sedulo inquirerent." (Prælect. de Eccl. Christi, t. i. quæst. iii. art. 3. p. 384.) See also Delahogue, de Eccl. cap. iv. quæst. objectiones. Bailly, de Eccl. cap. xv. in fine c. xvi. sect. vii. Bouvier de vera Eccl., pars i. c. ii art. v. s. 2. Collet, Institut. Theolog. Scholast., tom. i. p. 30. If judgments in questions of faith and discipline are null where the ordinary rules of judgment have been manifestly transgressed, they must be also in all questions affecting the *unity* of the church, because the latter is not less important than faith itself. In fact, Van Espen (Tractatus de Censuris, c. 5. s. i.) observes, that no one doubts that in cases of excommunication, the laws of judicial proceedings should be observed: and Suarez, cited by him, affirms, that a censure, in which there has been "a substantial defect in the *lawful order*" of proceeding, is entirely *invalid*. And what greater *defect* can there be, than in *not examining* the facts of the case, or determining them in blind obedience to a power erroneously supposed to be irresistible?

examples of this in the case of Novatian, and the Donatists. Novatian and his adherents, having separated from the communion of the church of the Romans about A.D. 250, and established a rival worship, were declared to be separated from the church by a council of sixty bishops at Rome, and by all the bishops in Africa and other western provinces ;[m] and in the East by the bishops assembled at Antioch ;[n] and this judgment being universally received, and the facts of the case being undeniable and notorious, the Novatians were always accounted schismatics, cut off entirely from the church of Christ. In the same manner, the Donatists having separated from the communion of the church of Carthage, and prevailed on the bishops of Numidia to support their schism and create a rival bishop ; and a division having arisen throughout Africa on this account, their cause was successively heard by a council of Italian and Gallican bishops at Rome ; by the council of Arles convened from all the West ; by the Emperor Constantine at Milan ; and it was universally condemned after a full examination. The Donatists were thenceforward regarded by all Christians as separated entirely from the church of Christ, as much as the Marcionites, Montanists, Sabellians, Arians, or any other sect which denied the first principles of the Christian religion. And they on their part declared the church apostate, and rejected its communion.

CONCLUSIONS.

1. *Unity of communion* being the law of God, both in the universal church, and in all the particular churches in which it is arranged ; it is impossible that *in the same place there can be several different churches*, authorized by God and united to Christ. In the case of rival communions in a particular locality, it is possible that *none* of them may be Christian ; but *one alone* can be the church of Christ ; and it is as impossible that

[m] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 43.

[n] Ibid. c. 46. See also Fleury, lib. vii. c. 5.

there should be two particular churches in the same place, as two universal churches in the world. I do not deny that persons may be, *in fact*, separated from the communion of the church in a particular place, who are not truly separated from the universal church: this may arise from an excommunication founded in an error of fact, not yet made manifest. But what I contend for is, that in one locality there can be but one society whose communion Christians are bound to seek in preference to all others. The supposition, indeed, that Christians in each locality could be bound to entertain fraternal intercourse in religion with several communities mutually separated, would carry an absurdity and contradiction on the very face of it, because the obligation of each individual to communicate with *all*, would render it impossible that there should be *different* communions. This conclusion is maintained by Cyprian in several places: "The Lord himself admonishes and teaches us in his Gospel, saying: 'And there shall be one flock and one shepherd.' And does any one imagine, that there can be, in *one place*, many shepherds, or many flocks? The apostle Paul, recommending the same unity to us, beseeches and exhorts, saying: "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you, but be agreed in the same mind and the same judgment.'"[y]

2. Since God has commanded unity in his church, and since Christ so earnestly desired and prayed for it, it follows necessarily that he must have provided *means* for sustaining this unity; and that any society which does not possess means for upholding unity of communion, and whose fundamental prin-

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[y] "Monet ipse (Christus) in evangelio suo et docet, dicens: Et erit unus grex et unus pastor. Et esse posse uno in loco aliquis existimat aut multos pastores aut plures greges? Apostolus item Paulus hanc eandem nobis insinuans unitatem, obsecrat et hortatur dicens: Obsecro, inquit, vos fratres per nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi," &c.—De Unitate, p. 255. ed. Pamelii.

ciples oblige them to tolerate, and even encourage separation without limit, cannot be a church of God.

3. Any society which originally separated voluntarily from the communion of the whole church, or from that of a portion of the church, on principles which involved equally separation from the whole, and which is accordingly separated from the communion of all societies descended regularly from those which existed before its separation: such a society can form no part of the church of Christ.

4. Any society which originally separated itself voluntarily from the church in any locality, is inexcusable, even though some church in another part of the world may not have separated it from its communion, through ignorance of its offence, or under the influence of prejudice and mistake.

5. It is unlawful for members of the church to hold religious communion with those who have separated themselves from it. I mean, that it is unlawful to unite in their worship, or generally to perform any purely religious acts with them; though it is commendable in those brethren who are especially fitted for that office, to confer with the separated, in order, if possible, to convert them from the error of their ways. This follows from the admission, that separation is a *sin* of the deepest die; for acts of religion performed apart from the church, and in rivalry of it, are precisely those things which constitute some of the very worst parts of separation itself. It is in these rival religious acts alone, that the schism is completed. There is nothing more requisite to show the unlawfulness of communicating in any such acts; because the rule of the Scriptures forbids Christians absolutely to unite in, or in any degree countenance what is in itself evil: "Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing;" "If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed;" "Ye cannot be partakers of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils." These passages prove that Christians are, as the apostle says, to have "no fellowship with the works of darkness," among which all

acts of separate worship may be included, for they are performed beyond the kingdom of Christ. It was in accordance with this principle, that the canons of the universal church decreed, that it was unlawful for Christians to communicate or pray with those who were excommunicated, or who deserted the prayers of the church, and met in private houses; that no one should receive gifts from heretics, or pray in their cemeteries, or contract marriages with them, &c.[p] By heretics, the general council of Constantinople understood, "those who, while they pretend to confess the sound faith, have separated and held meetings in opposition to our canonical bishops."[q]

6. Unity is also a positive sign of the church in this manner: all particular churches, or parts of the whole church, are free from the guilt of separation, and the penalty of excommunication. If, therefore it can be shown, that any society of professing Christians was originally founded by the apostles, or the churches they instituted; that this society has been always visible, that it never voluntarily separated itself from the great body of the church, and, in fine, that it was never excommunicated from the rest of the church, by any regular or valid judgment; then it follows that such a society must be a portion of the church of Christ, as far as it can be proved such from the unity of communion. In this case it can never have ceased to be what it originally was, namely, a church of Christ; for a church can only cease to be united to Christ by its own separation, or by the lawful judgment of others.

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[p] Apostol. can. xi. 1; Concil. Laodicen. can. 32. 34; Antioch. 2; Laodicen. 9. 31. See also Gangra, c. 6; Nicen. 5; Antioch. 6; African. 9. I take this opportunity of saying, that Mr. Percival's book on "the Roman schism" contains many of the most important ancient canons. It is almost needless to mention Dr. Routh's "Reliquiæ Sacræ," Justel, Bingham, Beveridge, Johnson's "Vade Mecum," Fleury's "Institution au Droit Eccles.," and Van Espen, as the best authorities on the sacred canons.

Τοὺς τὴν πίστιν μὲν τὴν ὑγιῆ προσπεπουμένους ὁμολογεῖν, ἀποσχισθέντας δὲ καὶ ἀντισυνάγοντας τοῖς κανονικοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις.—Conc. Const. can. vi.

SECTION III.

WHETHER THE EXTERNAL COMMUNION OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH CAN EVER BE INTERRUPTED.

It has been shown that Christ enjoined perfect unity in his church, and therefore that whatever society of Christians shall either separate itself from, or be regularly excommunicated by the great body of Christians, is cut off from the church. This was the case with the Novatians, Donatists, Arians, Pelagians, Luciferians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Monothelites, &c.

But it is now to be inquired, whether it is possible that the *catholic church itself* can be at any time divided in respect of external communion. The great majority of Romish theologians absolutely deny the possibility of any such case. Their popular argument in proof that their community constitutes the catholic church of Christ, is indeed altogether based on this principle. They contrast the external characteristics of their own community with those of all others, and endeavour to prove that it possesses superior claims to those of any other society. This is the beaten course pursued by all their writers, since the time of Bellarmine at least; and it is entirely based on the assumption, that the catholic church can never exist, except as perfectly *one* in external communion.

This position, always assumed by their writers, and sometimes admitted insensibly by their opponents, was expressly maintained by Nicole,[r] (followed by Tournely, and all subsequent Romish theologians,) against M. Jurieu, a minister of the French Protestants, who affirmed that the universal church consists of *all* societies agreeing in fundamental doctrines, even though mutually excommunicated and anathematized; that the only true unity of communion consists in spiritual union with Christ, and therefore that the formation of new sects is in no degree blameable.[s] Such principles were indeed absurd, and

[r] Unité de l'Eglise.

[s] *Vrai Système de l'Eglise*, and Defence of the same.

totally subversive of the catholic doctrine of unity; and Jurieu himself confessed, that from the time of Cyprian at least, all the fathers maintained a system entirely opposed to his.[t] But while the doctrine of Jurieu merits censure, as novel and erroneous, it appears that his opponents have not succeeded in their attempts to prove, that the external communion of the whole catholic church can *never* be interrupted.

If this external communion must always exist uninterruptedly, it must be from a very remarkable exercise of divine power, because we know from Scripture, that the church was to comprise evil men as well as good; and no one pretends that its members were to be exempt from frailties, passions, errors, ignorance. These circumstances would be very liable, occasionally, to cause divisions in the church; and it is possible that in some case the fault and the justification might be so equally divided between two parties, that it might be impossible to affirm, that either was involved in the guilt of formal schism. There is therefore no impossibility of division in the church itself, if we regard the persons of whom it is constituted; and the only way in which this impossibility can be proved, is by evidence of some divine promise to that effect.

I shall discuss this subject from Scripture, tradition, history, and the principles and admissions of Romanists.

First. Scripture contains no direct plain assertion, either that the external communion of the church will always be perfectly *one*, or that it will be divided. Romanists allege the words of our Saviour in reference to the Gentiles: "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be *one fold*, and one shepherd."[u] This promise was doubtless fulfilled by the admission of the Gentiles to the same privileges as the believing Jews; so that our Saviour meant, that they should be *one* in *spiritual privileges;* and this unity might well subsist, even if external communion were sometimes interrupted through misunder-

[t] Unité de l'Eglise.

[u] John iii. 16.

standings or infirmities. They also adduce those words of Christ: "A kingdom divided against itself cannot but fall." This passage does not prove, that the church can never be divided in point of external communion, because our Lord was here alluding to the case of kingdoms which had no promise of perpetuity, and did not refer to the church, which *has* such a promise, and therefore can never fall even by her divisions. But supposing that we applied these words to the church, still they would not prove what our opponents desire, because our Lord could only have meant, that an *irreconcilable* division, an intestine and destructive *war*, would lead to the inevitable overthrow of any kingdom; but he did not mean that a kingdom may not *for a time* be divided by jealousies without being destroyed.

If the essential unity of the church is to be inferred from its being spoken of in the *singular* number, as the "kingdom," "household," "body," and "spouse" of Christ; it is probably to be understood of a spiritual unity of *relations to Christ*, which might exist, even if external unity were interrupted. The "field," the "draw-net," and "the threshing floor," prefigure the church as *one*, that is, as the common and only way of trial and salvation. The same may be said of the types of the terrestrial paradise, the ark of Noah, the temple of Jerusalem, &c., what are said to prefigure the church's unity. They all relate to salvation in the church only; but they do not enable us to determine whether that church was always to be perfectly united in external communion. The argument for the unity of the church, from Christ's "coat without seam," which St. Cyprian and others have regarded as a type of unity, was probably so used by them rather in the way of theological argument, than from any apostolical tradition; nor does it appear safe or satisfactory to rest on an interpretation so symbolical, in a question of so much importance, as that which is here under consideration.[v]

[v] No one pretends that the particular *arguments* of theologians, even in the earlier ages, are always to be received without examination. Even the

If it be supposed, however, that the images and types above mentioned, relate to the unity of the church in general; they may only be representative of its *perfect* state, according to the will of God, or its glorified state. The sacred writers speak of the church consisting of imperfect men, when viewed in this respect, as "without spot and without blemish." The church is in this sense perfectly one, that is, according to the divine will, and in the essential respects which are known to God; but we cannot infer that it will never at any time in this world be blemished in reality by serious faults. On the contrary, Christ himself intimates, that when he cometh, he will find but little true faith in the earth.

The apostle Paul urges the duty of peace and order in the church, because we being many, are *one body* in Christ, and every one members one of another" (Rom. xii. 5). From this expression, "*one body*" our opponents argue, that the church must always be one in external communion. But why may not the church constitute "one body *in Christ*," spiritually united to him as their head, animated by one spirit of faith and charity, and continuing to be the one way of salvation, though for a time, through mutual misunderstandings, there should be an estrangement between some portions of the church? And if the same apostle urges Christians to "keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace," because there is "*one body* and one spirit, &c.;"[w] does he also affirm it impossible that some portions of this "one spiritual body" should, through misunderstandings, be estranged for a time from exter-

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arguments of general councils themselves are not binding, as the Romanist Delahogue argues from Vasquez, and Vernon, the latter of whom says, "Id solum esse de fide quod definitur; seu ut loquuntur juristæ, solum *dispositivum arresti*, seu contenti in capite aut canone, est de fide: *motivum* vero *arresti*, seu ejus *probatio*, non sunt de fide?"—(Delahogue, De Eccl. cap. v. prop. 2. Annot. circa decreta Concil.) If this is the case even in the decrees of general councils, how much more so in the case of individual fathers and theologians? [See Part iv. Ch. vi.]

[w] Eph. iv. 4, 5.

nal intercourse? Our Lord himself prayed for all believers: "that they may all be *one*, as thou Father art in me, and I in thee; that they may also be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."[x] We may justly infer from this, that perfect unity is the will of Christ, and that he has provided *means* for preserving or recovering this unity; but we cannot infer, that it would never be actually impaired in the church at any time.

Our Saviour's earnest and repeated prayer for the unity of his disciples, is not equivalent to a *promise* that they should never be divided. We may rather infer from the earnestness of that prayer, that the church was in imminent danger of disunion, and that so great an evil would most probably at some time arrive. When Christ had prayed earnestly that the cup might pass from him, did it actually pass away? So it is in this case. Perhaps no duty is more frequently, more earnestly inculcated in the New Testament, than that of *perfect* unity with the brethren. It was the new and special commandment of the Saviour himself, and when the first symptoms of division manifested themselves in the Christian family, he took occasion to eradicate the very principle from which they came. "The princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant," &c.[y] Ambition was, as our Saviour knew, the source of divisions, and therefore he warned his disciples against all desire of earthly dominion and aggrandisement, under any pretence whatever. Nor did he mean that they should merely assume the *title* of servants, while they endeavoured to bring all the world beneath their domination.

The commandments, the prayers of Jesus Christ for the unity of the brethren, and the corresponding exhortations of all the apostles, afford no *promise*, however, that the church should

[x] John xvii. 21.

[y] Matt. xx. 25—27.

never be divided in point of external communion. On the contrary, they rather afford a presumption that it would be so at some time. When Moses, before his departure, delivered to the Israelites those awful warnings of the evils which would overtake them, if they declined to idolatry, it may be reasonably inferred, that there was danger and probability that they would actually commit that sin. So when Christ and the apostles, before their departure, with equal earnestness press on us the duty of perfect unity, we may infer that there was danger and probability of division in the church.

There is, indeed, as I have said, no prophecy of the division of the church at any time; but neither is there any promise of its perpetual and perfect external union. This is what the Romanists ought to produce before they affirm the *impossibility* of any division in the church, or the certainty that the catholic church can only exist in some one communion.

Secondly, I proceed to consider the doctrine of catholic tradition; and here also, as we might have anticipated, the position of our opponents is entirely unsupported. That the fathers and councils of the church do not affirm, that the church can never be divided in point of external communion, we may conclude from the very quotations adduced by the Roman theologians, Nicole, Tournely, Bailly, &c. in proof of their assumption; for they are silent on the very point in debate. It is in vain to adduce passages from the fathers, where they speak of the catholic church as *one* communion, from which all heretics and schismatics are cut off. Who disputes that heretics and schismatics are not of the church, and that the church was generally one communion in *fact?* The only question is, whether it could ever be troubled by divisions. The innumerable exhortations and arguments of the fathers in favour of unity; their denunciations of those who separated from the church, or whom the church condemned; their doctrine of the impossibility of several true churches co-existing together in the same place: these are entirely received and approved by us; but they do not touch the question in debate,

namely, whether the *catholic church itself* may *ever* be divided in point of external communion.[z]

There are but two writers, of all those adduced, whose words appear to bear on the question. St. Cyprian, in speaking of the unity of the church, says: "*Unity cannot be severed;* nor the one body by *laceration* be divided"[a] One or two more similar passages occur in the same treatise. We know that Cyprian, in these places, was speaking with reference to the Novatians, who had separated themselves from the communion of the particular church of Rome, and established a rival community, and who were condemned by the universal church. His meaning is, that the unity of the church cannot be so divided by *laceration*, that in *one place* there shall be several true churches, as he observes in the same treatise;[b] but he does not touch on the question of estrangement between the churches of different parts of the world. St. Augustine, in his treatise against Petilian says, with reference to the Donatists: "He that does not communicate with this church (universal) *thus diffused*, communicates not with him whose words have been recited" (Christ).[c] He means those who *rejected* the communion of the catholic church and pronounced it *apostate*, as the Donatists did, or who were cut off by the regular condemnation of the whole church; but not simply those who did not communicate with the whole church. Innocentius of Rome, with whom St. Augustine communicated, was himself not in communion with the eastern churches.

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[z] ["They used statements which were not realized to their minds, except in that form in which we accept them as fully as the Romanists. The point virtually in debate then was, whether *two* true churches could be rivals in *one* place; but the question whether *two* churches in *two* places could be in a state of *estrangement*, had never fairly been contemplated at that time, and the words of the Fathers are but words and not ideas, which seem to bear upon a state of things not existing."—*British Critic*, Oct., 1838, p. 360.]

[a] De Unitate, near the end, p. 260, ed. Pamel. [P. 149, Oxf. tr.]

[b] Ibid. p. 255. [P. 136, Oxf. tr.]

[c] Contra Literas Petiliani, lib. 2. c. 55. tom. ix.

It is very certain, then, that the fathers esteemed separation from the church a most grievous sin, but they did not affirm that the *church itself* could never be divided for a time by jealousies and misunderstandings.

Thirdly, it is undeniable from history, that external communion between all churches has at various times been interrupted. I need not dwell on the excommunication of the Asiatic churches by Victor and the Roman church: nor on that of Cyprian and the Africans by Stephen, who, when some African bishops came to Rome, forbade the people to communicate with them, or even to receive them into their houses; nor on the excommunication of Hilary of Arles by Leo.[d] In all these cases, different parts of one and the same catholic church were separated from external communion. But we may observe instances in which this division was carried to a greater extent, and involved the whole church. Fleury (himself of the Roman communion) says, with reference to the death of Chrysostom: "His death did not terminate the *division* of the churches of the East and West; and while the orientals refused to re-establish his memory, the Roman church, *followed by all the West*, held firm to the resolution she had taken *not to communicate* with the oriental bishops, especially with Theophilus of Alexandria, until an œcumenical council should be held to remedy the evils of the church."[e] This division continued for several years.

The division between the East and West was again renewed in the time of Acacius, patriarch of Constantinople, whom Felix of Rome deposed and excommunicated for having held communion with heretics and for other causes, and to whose communion all the eastern bishops adhered.[f] We learn from the letters of the orthodox oriental bishops, that after this time they were not actually in communion with the West.[f] The

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[d] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. xxvii. s. 5.

[e] Hist. Eccl. l. xxii. 13.

[f] Ibid. l. xxxi. 16.

Roman bishops informed them of the mode in which they might recover their communion,[g] and in fine, when the re-union had been accomplished between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, after an interval of thirty-five years, Pope Hormisdas writes to the bishops of Spain, to inform them "on what conditions they should admit the orientals to their *communion*."[h] This shows that the Eastern and Western churches had again been altogether separated in point of external communion.

I shall not multiply instances of division, but it is impossible not to mention the great schism in the Western church, which continued from 1379 to 1414. During this interval the whole of that church was divided into two, and at last three, "obediences," subject to so many rival popes, and in a great degree estranged from mutual communion. Each "obedience" adhered to its head as the true vicar of Christ, and treated those of the other obedience as schismatics. I do not say that this separation of communion was universal, but it existed to a great extent both between different national churches and in particular churches, as we may see in the ecclesiastical history of that time.

The best reply made to such facts by Roman theologians is, that although in these cases, some portions of the church were separated from mutual communion, they still communicated with some third party; some portion of the church which did not engage in the schism. Such a *third* party does not appear in the schism between the Eastern and Western churches in the time of Theophilus of Alexandria, and Acacius, as Nicole himself admitted; but at all events, the communion of two parties with a third, does not in any degree prove, that the external unity of the church universal is uninterrupted. It is manifest, that this sort of communion only preserves at most an *internal* unity between separated portions of the church:

[g] Fleury, l. xxxi. s. 16. See also s. 26.

[h] Ibid. s. 43.

the external union is evidently interrupted. Romanists are sensible that they cannot sustain the perpetual external unity of the church on so imperfect a communion; and therefore they endeavour to make up the deficiency by referring to the motives, sentiments, and conduct of those who have been actually separated from external communion. For example, the oriental bishops who adhered to Acacius, are said not to have been schismatics, because "they *thought* the bishop of Constantinople could not be condemned except in a general council, but they did not *deny* the primacy of the Roman pontiff, nor the authority of the universal church." "They *sought* communion with the apostolical see." In the Western schism, "all with good faith adhered to him whom they *held* to be the legitimate pontiff." "All with due reverence *expected* the judgment of the universal church." "There were *probable reasons* on both sides." "If there were any error it was in *mere fact*, not in the doctrine itself,"[i] &c. Now if different parties, though actually separated from external communion, may yet all form parts of the one catholic church, and be free from schism, in consequence of their *motives and principles*, and their communion with some *third* party; might not the *same* principles and motives, and communion with the *universal church* before their division, be equally consistent with the unity of the church? I see not why this communion should not preserve the unity of the church just as well as communion with some third part of the existing church, which may perhaps be exceedingly *small*, for no Romanist has pretended to determine the dimensions necessary to this party. Suppose then that it should consist of a few insignificant particular churches, how would the *visible* unity of the church be preserved in such a case?

Fourthly. I ask whether the church universal may not,

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i Tournely, Prælect. Theol. de Ecclesia, quæst. iv. art. iv. objectiones. Delahogue, de Eccl. cap. i. pars ii. propos. ii. objectiones. Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. tom. i. c. vi. object.

consistently with the principles of Romanists themselves, be divided into two parts which hold no direct external communion? It is their doctrine, that the external unity of the church consists not only in the communion of all its members with each other, but with their visible head, the Roman pontiff. Now Delahogue and others admit, that their communion with the head may be interrupted;[k] therefore *à pari* it may be interrupted between the members also. The one species of external unity, in their opinion, is as divinely instituted as the other. If they contend that external communion cannot in *both* its branches be interrupted at the same time, yet still if it may be deduced from their principles, that a time may come, when the Roman pontiff shall be the only link of external communion between two parties in the church; it seems that external visible unity is not more secure on their principles than on ours.

It is the doctrine of Delahogue and Roman theologians, that *schism* consists in a "separation from the communion of the *universal church*, which happens either when the church excludes any one from its body, or when any one leaves its communion."[l] How can they prove that no case can occur, in which a party neither separates itself from the communion of the *universal church*, nor is cut off from communion by the *universal church*, and yet is not actually in external communion with the majority of the church? If we suppose the church *equally* divided in some question, and each portion simply to withdraw its communion from the other without anathema, in obedience to an authority erroneously supposed to be irresistible, or from mutual misunderstandings; in such a case both

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[k] "Cæterum notandum est, centrum unitatis, licet ecclesiæ necessarium, interrumpi posse, sub quo respectu ejus ope eodem visibili communionis vinculo connectuntur omnes catholici; namque per quadraginta annos magni schismatis occidentis, varii competitores in pontificatu suas habebant *obedientias*, et singuli eas quæ illis non adhærebant excommunicatione feriebant. Quomodo autem nulla ex illis fuerit schismatica probavimus," &c.—De Ecclesia, c. viii. q. 3. prop. 2. p. 393.

[l] Delahogue, c. i. p. 1. propos. 2. object. Tournely, *ut supra*.

sides would be free from schism according to this definition, and therefore both would remain portions of the one catholic church, though separated from mutual external communion.

Tournely [m] and other Roman theologians distinguish three species of excommunication, one "by which bishops are deprived of the charity and ecclesiastical communion of other bishops;" which consisted chiefly in mutual visits, celebration of offices together, exchange of letters, and sitting together in councils. Another "by which a person was totally cut off from the body of the church and held as a heathen man and a publican." And another, "most customary among the ancients," which "consisted in bare subtraction or denial of communion, by which bishops or churches separated themselves from mutual communion, and thus one, *as it were*, excommunicated the other, though not subject to it." This excommunication, according to Tournely, "was not excommunication *properly so called*," though it separated churches from mutual intercourse. Therefore if the church universal should be divided into two portions by *such an excommunication*, neither party would be truly cut off from the church, and therefore the church would exist in different communions.

Nicole himself, in arguing for the unity of the church in external communion, makes the following admission. "We do not pretend that the actual unity which consists in the *effective union of all the church* is *essential* to the church, because this union may be troubled by divisions and contests which God permits." He even lays down two conditions which exempt from schism the parties so divided. The first is, that, "all those who are divided in good faith by some controversy which is not ruled or decided, *tend sincerely to unity;*" and the second, that they must "acknowledge a common judge, to which they refer their differences, which is a general council."[n] Therefore, according to the principle here laid

[m] De Ecclesia, *Ibid.*

[n] Cited by Jurieu, Unité de l'Eglise, p. 360, 361.

down by Nicole, whose book has been copied by all succeeding Romish theologians, and is styled by the bishop of Mans "exquisitum opus;" there may be external divisions of such a kind, that ecclesiastical unity is not truly subverted by them.

It may be concluded then, that Scripture, tradition, history, and theological reasons, are so far from proving the impossibility of any division of external communion in the catholic church, that they rather combine to establish its possibility, and I do not seek more than this. All we desire is, that other churches of apostolical form and succession, or who at least, *claim* a regular succession from the apostles, shall not be condemned *unheard* by those of the Roman communion; but that the question of actual schism, separation from, or by the catholic church shall be fairly examined.

OBJECTIONS.

I. If it be unlawful under any circumstances to separate from a church of Christ, the Reformation must have been unlawful.

Answer. The Reformation was not a voluntary separation from the church of Christ, as I shall prove hereafter: if there was such a separation in any case it is not to be defended. Besides, those who consider the church of Christ altogether to have failed in the West before the Reformation, cannot, consistently with their own principle, maintain that there was any separation from the church then.

II. It is *intolerant* to maintain that separation from any church is a sin.

Answer. It cannot be intolerant in any evil sense, if it be the doctrine of Scripture and of Christians generally, as I have proved it to be. Christ has a perfect right to bestow his favour in the church only if he pleases it. Salvation is the free gift of God, and is not *due* to man.

III. We are commanded in Scripture to "come out of

Babylon."[o] "Depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her."[p] "I have written to you not to keep company if any man that is called a brother be a fornificator, or covetous,"[q] &c.

Answer. The former texts refer to some community which is not the church of Christ, but has either apostatized from him, or never owned him. The latter only enjoins us to avoid the society and procure the excision of scandalous offenders, which we may well do without forsaking the communion of the church.

IV. The presence of God is promised to all Christian meetings: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii. 20). The martyr Cyprian replies: "How can two or three be gathered together in the name of Christ, who have plainly separated from Christ and from his Gospel? For we have not departed from them, but they from us; and since schisms and heresies are born afterwards, they left the fountain-head and origin of truth, when they constituted different conventicles for themselves."[r]

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[o] Rev. xviii. 4. [p] Is. lii. 11. [q] 1 Cor. v. 11.
[r] De Unit. 256.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH IN RESPECT OF FAITH.

That our Lord Jesus Christ did, in the time of his sojourn on earth, and afterwards by his apostles, make a revelation of truths salutary and necessary to be believed, is the general confession of all who call themselves Christians. Such truths ought doubtless to be believed by all his disciples, that is, by the church; and therefore the church ought to have unity of faith; but many questions have been raised as to the invariable unity of the church in faith, and the possibility of salvation under certain circumstances, even when revealed truth is not perfectly received. In treating of this subject I shall prove,

First, that THE TRUTH revealed by Christ must be believed by all Christians in order to salvation.

Secondly, that heresy, or the pertinacious denial or perversion of the truth, excludes from salvation.

Thirdly, that all errors, even in matters of faith, are not heretical.

Fourthly, I shall examine the question of unity in faith, as an attribute and sign of the church of Christ; and,

Fifthly, deduce some conclusions which may aid us in discriminating the church of Christ from all rival communities.

SECTION I.

THE TRUTH REVEALED BY CHRIST IS TO BE BELIEVED BY ALL CHRISTIANS.

The whole system and body of the Christian religion is necessarily free from the least mixture of error or falsehood, because it proceeds from the infinitely wise and only-begotten

Son of God, who declared himself to be emphatically "the way, *the truth*, and the life." The very object of his mission was to declare the truth. "To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth" (John xviii. 37); and the reason was: "God hath from the beginning chosen you to *salvation*, through sanctification of the Spirit and *belief of the truth*" (2 Thess. ii. 13). His promise to his disciples was; "Ye shall know the truth, and *the truth* shall make you *free*" (John viii. 32): and again, "The Spirit of truth will guide you into all truth" (xvi. 13). It is to be observed, that *salvation*, and freedom from the dominion of evil, are here connected with the belief of the truth: the holy Spirit even is given for its maintenance: and hence Christians are bound by their hopes of salvation, and by the obligation of submitting their own wills to the will of God, to believe *the truth* alone, as revealed by Jesus Christ. This truth he commanded his disciples to "teach all nations;" and since truth is but *one*, the apostle declares that there is but "one faith" (Eph. iv. 5), for which "faith once delivered to the saints," a faith incapable of improvement, of addition, or correction, all Christians are commanded "earnestly to contend" (Jude 3). In this faith they are to remain "*stablished* as they have been taught" (Coloss. ii. 7). They are exhorted to "stand fast, and hold the traditions they have been taught" (1 Thess. ii. 15); "not carried about with divers and strange doctrines" (Heb. xiii. 9); nor "like children tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine" (Eph. iv. 14). Their pastors are commanded, when needful, to "rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in the faith" (Tit. i. 13). Nothing is more evident than the will and commandment of Christ, that his whole church should firmly believe and sustain the one truth which he came to reveal by himself and by his apostles. Even in his last hours he thus addressed the Father: "Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth" (John xvii. 17); and their common belief in this truth was doubtless included in the petition which he immediately added: "that

they may all be *one*." In fine, St. Paul describes the Christian church as established for the maintenance of the truth. "The church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth."

Hence we may conclude that there is an obligation on all Christians to receive the whole truth revealed by Christ, and to deny no part of it.[a] Every portion of this truth comes from God himself, and rests on his authority; and we cannot without temerity divide the doctrines which He has revealed, into those which may be *denied*, and those which may be believed. Independently of the rashness and folly of such a distinction made without any authority of revelation, its impiety is manifest, as it in effect constitutes man the judge of God himself. It is necessary therefore to avoid with the greatest care any approximation to this evil doctrine. The obligation of believing all that Christ has actually revealed, must however be admitted by professing Christians of "all denominations." Even the Unitarian cannot allow that it is lawful to deny that pardon is given on condition of repentance, or that future *rewards* are eternal; or if he does so, he must be prepared to maintain the absurd paradox, that one who denies every doctrine which Christ taught, may yet be a disciple of Christ, and in the way of salvation which Christ came to point out. But I proceed to confirm what has been asserted in this section, by shewing the sin of disbelieving any of the truth revealed by Christ.

SECTION II.

HERESY EXCLUDES FROM SALVATION.

Heresy is the *pertinacious* denial of some truth *certainly* revealed. I say "pertinacious," because it is agreed generally that pertinacity or obstinacy is required to constitute formal

[a] See Rogers's Discourse of the Church, chap. iii. Hook, Sermon II. before the University of Oxford.

heresy. Field defines heretics as "they that *obstinately* persist in error contrary to the church's faith."[b] Hooker says that "heresy is heretically maintained by such as *obstinately* hold it after wholesome admonition."[c] On the other hand, Melchior Canus teaches that "heresy is the pertinacious error of one who professes the faith, manifestly contrary to that truth which is certainly catholic," and that "he alone is to be accounted a heretic who resists the doctrine of the church, and is therefore pertinacious."[d] I add "*certainly* revealed," because if there be a *legitimate doubt* in a controversy, which of the two contrary doctrines was actually revealed, either may be held without heresy. It is obvious, also, that mere ignorance, or a temporary error in ignorance, is altogether different from heresy.

1. Heresy is in fact a species of infidelity; it denies a portion of what God has revealed; and the words of Christ to his apostles, "Go ye and teach all nations . . . to observe *all things* that I have commanded you . . . he that believeth not shall be damned," consigning to destruction those who do not believe the apostolic preaching, prove the infinite danger of disputing or denying it in any point. As it has been shown above that the Scriptures connect salvation with a belief of the truth, so also is condemnation united with the belief of false doctrines: "For this cause shall God send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believe not the truth." Heresy is here represented as a judgment of God on the wicked, by which he permits Satan to gain dominion over them, and precipitate them into destruction. St. Paul, in writing to the Galatians, with reference to the Judaizing teachers who maintained the necessity of obedience to the old Law without denying the mission of Christ, says:

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[b] Field, Of the Church, book i. ch. 14.

[c] Hooker's Works by Keble, vol. iii. p. 620.

[d] Melchior Canus, De Locis Theologicis, lib. xii. c. vii. resp. ad 5. The same doctrine is maintained by Bossuet, Defens. declar. cler. Gallicani, tom. iii. p. 286.

"There be some that trouble you, and would *pervert*" (not *deny*) "the Gospel of Christ. But though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel (*i. e.* by perverting the Gospel) unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other Gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema" (Gal. i. 7—9).

St. Peter said: "There shall be false teachers among you, who shall privily bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them" (2 Pet. ii. 1). These words probably refer directly and immediately to those who are described by another apostle as "deceivers" and "antichrists" who "confess not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh" (2 John 7). St. John continues: "Whosoever transgresseth and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God: he that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house; neither bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds" (9—11). It appears that St. John alluded in this passage to the Gnostics, who denied that Christ's body was real, and consequently subverted the doctrine of his real incarnation, passion, death, atonement, &c.; and no words can more plainly show the guilt of separating from the unity of the true faith. Evil doctrine is elsewhere described as hateful to God: "So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes, which thing I HATE" (Rev. ii. 15). Those who teach and maintain false doctrines are, according to the apostolical command, to be rejected and cut off from the society of Christians. "If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: *from such withdraw thyself*" (1 Tim. vi. 3—5). "A

man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, *reject*" (Tit. iii. 10).

These passages are so clear, that it is needless to adduce further proof from Scripture to the same effect. It may be concluded, therefore, that a pertinacious denial of any truth certainly revealed by Christ our Lord, whether it be doctrinal or moral, relating to the nature and attributes of God, or the duty and hopes of man, is offensive to God, and destructive of salvation.

2. The whole church of Christ, from the beginning, acknowledged this principle. Ignatius writes thus to the church in Ephesus: "Do not err, my brethren. They who corrupt the house, shall not inherit the kingdom of God; and if such as do these things according to the flesh have perished, how much more if any one should corrupt the faith of God by evil doctrine, for which faith Jesus Christ was crucified? Such a one, being defiled, shall depart into fire unquenchable. Likewise he who heareth him."[e] To the Trallians he writes: "Therefore I exhort you, and yet not I, but the love of Jesus Christ, to use only Christian food, and to abstain from strange pasture, which is heresy. For the heretics, to appear worthy of belief, involve Jesus Christ in their doctrine, like those who administer a deadly potion mingled with sweet wine, which the ignorant receiveth with pleasure; and therein is death."[f] Justin Martyr teaches the same doctrine. Having cited the words of Christ: "Many false Christs and false apostles shall arise and deceive many of the faithful;" he continues: "There are therefore, and were, many, who going forth in the name of Christ, taught impious and blasphemous doctrines and practices;

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[e] Μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου. Οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν. Εἰ οὖν οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ταῦτα πράσσοντες ἀπέθανον, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐὰν πίστιν Θεοῦ κακῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φθείρῃ ὑπὲρ ἧς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐσταυρώθη; ὁ τοιοῦτος, ῥυπαρὸς γενόμενος, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει· ὁμοίως δὲ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ.—Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. c. xvi.

[f] Παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀγάπη Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μόνῃ τῇ Χριστιανῇ τροφῇ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλοτρίας δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθαι, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἵρεσις, κ. τ. λ.—Ad Trall. c. vi.

and we call them by the name of those men from whom each doctrine or opinion arose . . . . with none of whom do we communicate, knowing them to be irreligious, impious, unrighteous, iniquitous, who instead of venerating Jesus Christ, only profess him in name."[g] "The Lord," says Irenæus, "shall judge all those who are without the truth: that is, without the church."[h] "If they are heretics they cannot be Christians," according to Tertullian,[i] who also judged, that "heresies had not inflicted less injury on the Christians by their perverse doctrines, than Antichrist by his horrible persecutions."[k] Clement of Alexandria affirms, that "he who revolts against the ecclesiastical doctrine, and falls into the opinions of human heresies, ceases to be a man of God, and faithful to the Lord."[l] Origen continues the same doctrine: "As those shall not possess the kingdom of God, who have been defiled by fornication, and uncleanness, and impurities, and idolatry; so neither shall heretics."[m] "If any one, reading the gospel, applies to it his own interpretation, not understanding it as the Lord spake it, truly he is a false prophet, uttering words from his own mind. These words may fairly be understood of heretics."[n] "Nor can that man be accounted a Christian," says Cyprian, "who doth not remain in the truth of his gospel and faith."[o]

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g Πολλοὶ οἱ ἄθεοι καὶ βλάσφημα λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἐδίδαξαν . . . . ὧν οὐδενὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, οἱ γνωρίζοντες ἀθέους καὶ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἀδίκους καὶ ἀνόμους αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντας.—Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 208. ed. Thirl.

h "Dominus judicaturus est eos omnes qui sunt extra veritatem, id est, qui sunt extra ecclesiam."—Adv. Hæres. l. iv. c. 33. al. 62.

i "Si hærctici sunt, Christiani esse non possunt."—De Præscript. c. 37. p. 215. ed. Rigalt. 1664.

k Præscript. c. 4.

l Ἄνθρωπος εἶναι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πιστὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ διαμένειν ἀπολώλεκεν, ὁ ἀναλακτίσας τὴν ἐκκλεσιαστικὴν παράδοσιν, καὶ ἀποσκίρτησας εἰς δόξας αἱρέσεων ἀνθρωπίνων.—Stromat. lib. vii. p. 890. ed. Potter.

m Origen. ap. Pamphil. Apol. tom. v. p. 225. Oper. Hieron. Paris, 1706.

n Hom. ii. in Ezech. tom. iii. p. 362.

o "Nec Christianus videri potest qui non permanet in Evangelii ejus et fidei veritate."—De Unit. Eccl.

The practice of the church was in accordance with these principles. Heretics were always regarded as cut off from the church, and to be avoided by all Christians. Irenæus relates, from the tradition of Polycarp, a disciple of St. John, that when the apostle went to the bath at Ephesus, and beheld Cerinthus there, he departed, saying, "Let us fly, lest it should fall upon us, for Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is there."[p] Polycarp himself, when asked by the heretic Marcion, "Whether he knew him," answered, "I know thee, the first-born of Satan." "So great care," says Irenæus, "had the apostles and their disciples not to communicate, even by words, with those who adulterated the truth; as Paul also said: 'A man that is a heretic after the first and second admonition reject, knowing that such a one is perverted, and sinneth, being condemned by himself.'"[q] Heretics were only received into the church on confessing their fault, as Irenæus intimates in the case of Cerdo.[r] Those who taught false doctrines were condemned and anathematized. Thus Victor and the Roman church expelled Theodotus, Artemon, and their followers, who held that Christ was a mere man.[s] Noetus was condemned at Ephesus,[t] and Paulus of Samosata at Antioch, by seventy oriental bishops, who in their epistle to all churches speak thus: "We also wrote and exhorted many bishops afar off, to procure a remedy of this *deadly* doctrine"[u] . . . . and having alluded to the scandalous life of Paulus, they observe, that had he been orthodox, they would have examined into this; "but we have not judged it fit to take account of these things in the case of one who hath betrayed the mystery, and boasted him-

[p] Irenæus, adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.—Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητὴς, ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ πορευθεὶς λούσασθαι, καὶ ἰδὼν ἔσω Κήρινθον, ἐξήλατο τοῦ βαλανείου μὴ λουσάμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπειπών· Φύγωμεν, μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄντος Κηρίνθου, τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθροῦ.

[q] Ibid.

[r] Adv. Hæres. iii. c. 4.

[s] Euseb. v. 28. Fleury, iv. 33.

[t] Fleury, liv. v. c. 52.

[u] Ἐπεστέλλομεν δὲ ἅμα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν μακρὰν ἐπισκόπων, ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῆς θανατηφόρου διδασκαλίας.—Euseb. vii. c. 30.

self in the accursed heresy of Artemon: for why should we not declare his parent? . . . . Having therefore expelled him as an enemy of God, and remaining obstinate, we are compelled to ordain another bishop,"[v] &c. On the same principle the holy œcumenical synod of three hundred and eighteen bishops at Nice, declared all who should deny the divinity of Christ to be anathema.[w] It is needless to go further in accumulating proof that the church in all ages, from the beginning, regarded heresy as a crime destructive of salvation. Even the sects which separated from the church bore testimony, by their very act of separation, to their belief that those who taught doctrines contrary to the truth, were not to be held Christians, or communicated with.

3. And the same doctrine has been continually received amongst professing Christians of all appellations to the present day. At the reformation all parties received the definition of faith called the Creed of Athanasius, in which it is declared, that "whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the catholic faith, which faith except every one do keep *whole and undefiled*, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly." Nothing can be more decisive than this of the doctrine of the reformation; for Lutherans, and Zuinglians, and Calvinists vied with each other in their adoption of the Athanasian Creed.[x] Nor was this merely a speculative doc-

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[v] Τὸν δὲ ἐξορχησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ ἐμπομπεύοντα τῇ μικρᾷ αἱρέσει τῇ ἀρτεμᾷ (τί γὰρ οὐ χρὴ μόλις τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ δηλῶσαι) οὐδὲν δεῖν ἡγούμεθα τούτων τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπαιτεῖν . . . . ἠναγκάσθημεν οὖν ἀντιτασσόμενον αὐτὸν τῷ Θεῷ καὶ μὴ εἴκοντα ἐκκηρύξαντες, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid.

[w] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. i. c. 8. Theodoret. ii. c. 12.

[x] See the Articles of Smalcald, Formula Concordiæ, Confess. Helvet. i. c. xi.; Confess. Gallic. art. v.; Belgica, art. ix.; Bohemica, art. iii. &c.

The Zuinglians said in their Confession: "We abominate the impious doctrine of Arius and the Arians against the Son of God, especially the blasphemies of Michael Servetus and his sect, which Satan drew as from hell by their means against the Son of God, and most audaciously and impiously scattered through the world." "We execrate the madness of Eutyches and the Monothelites," &c. Confess. Helvet. i. c. xi. All the

trine with them. Luther held Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and their followers, as heretics in the question of the eucharist, and accordingly refused to hold any communion with them. The Lutherans regarded the Sacramentarians as heretics, while both in their turn denounced the Socinians and Anabaptists as most grievous heretics, and separated them from all communion. Calvin styles Servetus (one of the Socinian and Anabaptist sect) "a monster,"[y] and was instrumental in his being burned alive for heresy.[z] The reformed of Holland expelled the Arminians as heretics, not only from their communion, but from their country. I merely adduce these specific acts to prove the universal consent of the foreign reformation, that heresy is a most grievous sin, and that they who are guilty of it, are not to be treated as Christian brethren. The principle of temporal persecution for religion, is perfectly distinct from the original principle of the church with regard to heresy. It arose several centuries after the foundation of Christianity.

4. The sense of the Church of England admits of no doubt. The Athanasian Creed, which she declares, "ought *thoroughly* to be believed and received," as it "may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture,"[a] is decisive on the question; and in the collect for Good Friday we pray for "heretics," that they may be "fetched home to God's flock," and "saved;" evidently implying that they are, as heretics, out of the way of salvation. Our most noted theologians hold the same doctrine. Bishop Jewel says: "Heresy is a forsaking of salvation, a rejection of God's grace, a departure from the

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confessions of the Lutherans and Calvinists are full of condemnations of various heresies in the strongest terms.—See chap. xii.

[y] "Nostro quoque sæculo emersit non minus exitiale *monstrum* Michael Servetus."—Inst. ii. 14. 5. "Manichæorum *delirio* occurrere necesse est, quod rursus hac ætate invehere tentavit Servetus . . . . hic *diabolicus* error quam crassas et fœdas absurditates secum trahat," &c.—Inst. i. 16. 5. "Cavendum tamen est a *diabolica* imaginatione Serveti."—ii. 9. 3.

[z] Mosheim, cent. xvi. sect. iii. part 2. c. 4. s. 4.

[a] Art. viii.

body of Christ,"[b] &c. Bishop Pearson says: "A man may not only passively and involuntarily be rejected, but also may by an act of his own cast himself out and eject himself" (out of the church), "not only by plain and complete apostasy, but by a defection from the unity of faith, falling into some *damnable* heresy."[c] Dr. Barrow says: "In regard to this union in faith peculiarly, the body of Christians adhering to it was called the catholic church, from which all those were esteemed *ipso facto* to be cut off and separated, who *in any point* deserted that faith; 'such a one,' (saith St. Paul) ἐξέστραπται, 'is turned aside,' or hath left the Christian way of life. He in reality is no Christian, nor is to be avowed or treated as such, but is to be disclaimed, rejected, and shunned." Having proved this to be the doctrine of the Christian church in early times, he adds: "Hence in common practice, whosoever did appear to differ from the common faith, was rejected as an apostate from Christianity, and unworthy the communion of Christians."[d]

5. Even dissenters have admitted the same doctrine. The divines of Westminster (Presbyterians,) in their "Humble Advice," declared that "the catholic visible church consists of all those throughout the world that profess the *true religion*," &c. Owen, a leader of the Independents, admits that the church of Christ must have "belief of the same doctrine of truth which is according to godliness, the same articles of faith, and the public profession thereof:" that "although any society of men should profess the Scripture to be the word of God, and avow an assent unto the revelation made therein; yet by the conceptions of their minds, and misunderstanding of the sense of the Holy Spirit therein, they may embrace and adhere unto such errors, as may cut them off from all communion with the catholic church in faith." . . . . And "in case, through the subtlety, &c. of those, by whom *damnable doctrines* are broached, the church itself whereunto they do belong, is not able to

[b] Apologia, p. 18.
[c] On the Creed, art. ix. Works, vol. 2. p. 762.
[d] On the Unity of the Church.

rebuke and suppress them," &c., in such a case synods may be resorted to.[e] The admissions of some of the modern dissenters on this point are also clear and decisive. "Can any person then, who professes to be a believer in Christianity, doubt whether there are not some doctrines essential to religion, 'truths according to godliness,' the cordial and duly impressive belief of which is indispensable to holy character, admission into the Divine favour, and the attaining of future blessedness? What, in particular those fundamental truths are, every person, every community, is bound to form the best judgment in their power; but it is self-evident that a Christian church *must* exercise its solemn decision upon this point, and that such a decision must lie at the *basis of its union*." Such doctrines "a faithful church must *hold fast*, and *even make them conditions of communion*; conditions not by a formal and merely verbal confession, but by the evidence of their soul-animating power. Nor is this requirement chargeable with persecution, or usurpation, or intolerance, or an infringement of any man's liberty. . . . The intolerance, the attack upon liberty, is on the side of those, if such there be who call us narrow, bigoted, or uncharitable, and who would force themselves into our communion, in opposition to our conscientious sense of duty to Christ our sovereign, and a regard to our own peace and edification."[f] Nothing can be more reasonable, and at the same time more calculated to justify the invariable practice of the church in proposing certain creeds as the conditions of her communion, and excommunicating those who teach false doctrines.

6. Having thus proved that according to Scripture and universal consent, heresy is a most deadly sin, I shall only add here that the church must certainly have the power of expelling those who are guilty of it, from her communion. If Christians may separate even those who are guilty of offences against

[e] The true Nature of a Gospel Church, p. 404, 405. 417.

[f] Library of Eccles. Knowledge, Essays on Ch. Polity, vol. ii. p. 401. See also Tract on Const. of Prim. Ch. vol. i. p. 39.

fraternal charity, as I have elsewhere observed;[s] how much more must they be bound to remove from their communion those who dare to corrupt and destroy the holy truth revealed by God himself for the salvation of mankind. Not only is this crime more directly offensive to God, but it is more dangerous to us; for offences against morals and charity carry their own condemnation with them: every one observes in a moment their deformity and contradiction to the divine law; but heresy commonly appears in the character of goodness and piety. "And no marvel," says the apostle, "for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers also be transformed as the ministers of righteousness; whose end shall be according to their works" (2 Cor. xi. 14, 15). And so we know from ecclesiastical history, that the founders of almost all heresies, as Arius, Pelagius, Nestorius, &c. have been famed for external piety and sanctity. Were it otherwise, indeed, the novelty of their opinions would excite too much apprehension among their hearers to render them in reality dangerous: but when men of apparent sanctity and integrity earnestly assert their doctrines as true and orthodox, then even the faithful may be in danger of forsaking their stedfastness; and it was necessary that such temptations should arise, in order to sift the chaff from the wheat; for, as the apostle says: "There *must* be also heresies among you, that they which *are approved* may be made *manifest* among you" (1 Cor. xi. 19). That is, God provides that the very heresies which he permits to fall as a judgment on proud and carnal spirits, shall only purify and glorify that church they are apparently destined to destroy.

It is therefore absolutely necessary that the church should be able to separate heretics from its communion; and the Scripture gives such a power: "A heretic after the first and second admonition *reject*." . . . . "From such *withdraw* thyself" . . . and finally: "If he shall neglect to hear the church, let him be

[s] In the preceding chapter, sect. ii. art. 6.

unto thee as a heathen man and a publican. Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." The church's power of judgment in cases of heresy is reasonably to be inferred from this last passage, because, though our Saviour had originally only supposed a case of sin against the law of charity, he concludes by expanding ecclesiastical judgments to all matters of religion. "*Whatsoever* ye shall bind," &c. Nor can any reason be assigned why the church should not take cognizance of heresy amongst her members, as well as of any other sin. It is evident, also, from what has been said in this Section, that Christians have in all ages, from the beginning, regarded the Christian society as invested with such a right, and perpetually acted upon it; and that those whose doctrines were pronounced false by the voice of the Christian world, and who remained pertinacious in their errors, were universally rejected, and no longer regarded as Christians.

On this subject I shall speak more fully elsewhere (Part IV); but here it must be observed, that, as in the case of all offences against charity, so in the case of offences against faith, there are certain *conditions* requisite to a valid ecclesiastical judgment, which, if *plainly violated*, render it null and devoid of all spiritual effect. It is very improbable, however, that the universal church should not perform these conditions, and it might be even argued that it is impossible; but at least the improbability is so great that unless it can be *clearly proved* by facts, that in some case the church did not examine whether those accused of heresy were really guilty of it, but judged from mere impulse or passion; it is only reasonable to conclude, that those who were condemned were rightly condemned. I hear speak of sentences pronounced by the universal church; but of these, and the judgments of particular churches, I shall further treat in the next section.

SECTION III.

ALL ERRORS, EVEN IN MATTERS OF FAITH, ARE NOT HERETICAL.

It has been proved that Christians are bound by their hopes of salvation to believe and stedfastly maintain the truth revealed by Jesus Christ, and that they cannot, without committing deadly sin, forsake or corrupt any portion of that truth. But in order to free this doctrine from all unjust consequences which might be deduced from it, we must consider the cases in which heresy is not to be imputed to those who are in error.

I. Amongst doctrines maintained by Christians, some have been certainly revealed, and are known to be so by the clear words of Scripture, and the voice of universal tradition. These are *matters of faith*, and cannot be pertinaciously denied without heresy. Other doctrines are deduced from passages of Scripture which admit of a different interpretation, or from doctrines of faith whence it is not certain that they follow, and are not supported by the voice of universal tradition, but have been opposed by several members of the church at all times, without any condemnation of their doctrine by the church generally.—Such doctrines are *matters of opinion*, and they may be received, or not received, according to the judgment of individuals or particular churches, without heresy; because there is no certainty that they were revealed by Christ. As St. Augustine says: "Some points there are, in which even the most learned and best defenders of the catholic rule disagree, yet the union of faith is preserved."[h] This distinction is admitted by all parties. Calvin observes, that "there are some things which may be controverted amongst churches, yet do not destroy the unity of

[h] "Alia sunt in quibus inter se aliquando etiam doctissimi atque optimi regulæ Catholicæ defensores, salva fidei compage non consonant."—Contr. Jul. i. 22. p. 510. tom. x.

faith. For what churches ought to separate merely for this cause, if one should suppose without any contentiousness or positive assertion, that souls departing from the body ascend to heaven, and the other should not dare to determine the place, yet hold that they are alive to God?"[i] In the same manner the Romish divines distinguished between theological opinions and doctrines *de fide*. Amongst the former they included the points disputed between the Thomists and Scotists, the Jesuits and Dominicans, the Ultramontane and the Cisalpine parties, the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, &c. (See Part iv. ch. vi. and xiv. Sect. ii.) It is certain, therefore, that there are doctrines which may be disputed without heresy.

2. When a doctrine in controversy appears to be taught by Scripture and tradition, and the universal church has not pronounced any judgment against it; particular churches are not guilty of heresy in maintaining this doctrine, even though it may be an error, and may have been denounced by some other particular churches. An instance of this is afforded by the controversy between St. Cyprian and Stephen of Rome, in the question of the validity of heretical baptism. No one, even of those who dispute his doctrine, supposes that St. Cyprian and those who judged with him were guilty of heresy. They were indeed condemned by the Roman church, but the rest of the church did not approve this measure. This is admitted by all the Romish theologians, and they do not themselves pretend that it is heretical to maintain a doctrine apparently supported by Scripture and tradition, against any authority *inferior* to that of the universal church. Thus they exempt the Gallican church in the

[i] Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. c. i. s. 12.—The Lutherans admitted the same in their Apology, where, in reference to the universal church, it is said, "Hæc ecclesia proprie est columna veritatis. Retinet enim purum evangelium, et, ut Paulus inquit, fundamentum, hoc est, veram Christi cognitionem et fidem, etsi sunt in his etiam multi imbecilles, qui supra fundamentum ædificant stipulas perituras, hoc est, quasdem inutiles opiniones, quæ tamen, quia non evertunt fundamentum, tunc condonantur illis, tum etiam emendantur."—Apol. Conf. Angust. iv.

time of Charlemagne and afterwards from heresy, though it rejected the worship of images decreed in the Synod of Nice, A.D. 787, but which it did not acknowledge to be œcumenical.[k] Even Transubstantiation and Purgatory, according to them, were not matters of faith, till the Councils of Lateran and Florence had defined those doctrines.

3. If even a doctrine has been declared *de fide* by the legitimate judgment of the universal church, still if through an error *of fact* it is supposed by some churches not to have been so declared, they do not incur heresy in retaining a different doctrine. This is admitted by Romanists, and it is a principle of considerable importance. They excuse from heresy those churches which did not receive the condemnation of the "three chapters" by the fifth œcumenical synod, on the ground that these churches were uncertain whether it was œcumenical.[l]—For the same reason they excuse the Western bishops who rejected the Synod of Nice (called the Seventh Synod).[m] The Gallicans excuse for the same reason the Ultramontanes, for not receiving the decrees of the Councils of Constance and Basil, concerning the superiority of a general synod to the Pope.[n] In like manner the cardinal of Lorraine and the Gallicans generally did not receive the Synod of Florence as œcumenical, nor its decree on the Papal supremacy, and yet were free from heresy.[o] It appears, therefore, that those who on strong grounds deny that the church has actually judged in a particular contro-

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[k] Tournely, de Ecclesia, tom. i. p. 402. Collet, Tractatus de Incarnatione, appendix, s. 5. Bossuet, Defensio declar. cler. Gallic. tom. ii. p. 527, &c.

[l] Tournely, tom. i. p. 401.

[m] Bailly, Tractatus de Eccl. Christi, tom. i. p. 423. Delahogue, de Ecclesia, p. 177.

[n] Bailly, tom. i. p. 425. Bossuet, Defens. declarat. cleri Gallicani.

[o] Fleury, liv. 164. s. 74.—It is acknowledged by Tournely, Hooke, and other Romish theologians, that the œcumenicity of the synod of Florence is doubted by some.—See Part iv. Chapter xi. Section v. According to Andradius (de Script. et Trad. Auctor. lib. ii. fol. 251), France never acknowledged the Synods of Florence as general.

versy, are free from heresy, even though they hold a doctrine which has been condemned. And the reason of this is, that there is still a legitimate doubt whether the contrary doctrine was revealed by Christ.

4. From the preceding principle it follows, that churches which through an *error of fact*, but on strong reasons, believe a doctrine to have been defined by the universal church as a matter of faith, which was in reality not so defined, and which is erroneous even in faith, are not guilty of heresy in holding that doctrine. Thus the African and some other Western churches opposed themselves to the judgment of the fifth Œcumenical Synod against the "three chapters," because they believed, through mistake, that the fourth Œcumenical Synod had approved them. And in this, and all similar cases, those who are in error are free from heresy, when they judge (on probable grounds) their opinion supported by a greater scriptural and ecclesiastical authority than that of their opponents.

5. In conclusion it must be observed that there is a great difference between those who actually apostatize from the evident truth, and those who have been born and educated out of the pale of the church's teaching, and have indeed imbibed from their parents or instructors doctrines contrary to the truth in some points, but who maintain them without obstinacy, and with a willingness to embrace the truth revealed by Christ, whatever it may be. It would be inconsistent with that charity which "hopeth all things," to maintain absolutely that such persons are separated from Christ. St. Augustine teaches this doctrine: "the apostle Paul indeed said, 'A heretic after the first and second admonition reject,' &c.; they however who defend their opinion, though false and perverse, with no pertinacious vehemence, especially if they have not themselves invented it with presumptuous audacity, but received it from parents who had been seduced and fallen into error; and if they are seeking after the truth with cautious solicitude, and ready to be corrected when they have discerned it, such men are by

no means to be accounted among heretics."[p] This is also the doctrine of Archbishop Laud, who says: "If any man be a leader and a teaching heretic, and will add schism to heresy, and be obstinate in both, he without repentance must needs be lost; while many that succeed him in the error only, without the obstinacy, may be saved. For they which are misled and swayed with the current of the time, hold the same errors with their misleaders, yet not supinely, but with all sober diligence to find out the truth; not pertinaciously, but with all readiness to submit to truth so soon as it shall be found; not uncharitably, but retaining an internal communion with the whole visible church of Christ in the fundamental points of faith, and performance of acts of charity; not factiously, but with an earnest desire and a sincere endeavour (as their place and calling gives them means,) for a perfect union and communion with all Christians in truth as well as peace: I say these, however misled, are neither heretics nor schismatics in the sight of God, and are therefore in a state of salvation."[q]

This last clause should be received with some caution, and be understood rather to imply a pious and charitable *hope* and opinion, than any absolute certainty. It is true that the defect of knowledge diminishes or removes the guilt of sin. "If I had not come and spoken unto them they had not had sin" (John xv. 22). Again; "That servant which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes. For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required" (Luke xii. 47, 48). Hence we may infer

[p] "Qui sententiam suum quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt, præsertim quam non audacia præsumptionis suæ pepererunt, sed a seductis atque in errorem lapsis parentibus acceperunt, quærunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter hæreticos deputandi."—Aug. Ep. 43. al. 162. Oper. t. 2. p. 88.

[q] Laud, Controversy with Fisher, s. 36, p. 315.

that those who maintain heretical doctrines in ignorance, are in a very different condition from those who forsake the light of the truth; but still, if a society has separated itself, or been legitimately separated by the whole church of Christ for heresy, its members are not in the way of salvation pointed out by Jesus Christ. They and their generations are as the heathen; and though we may have reason to believe that many of their descendants are not obstinate in their errors, still it seems to me that we are not warranted in affirming absolutely that they can be saved. We should not affirm *any thing* of the future condition of such persons. We have no right to "judge them that are without;" but we know that Jesus Christ has proposed his gospel to be believed and his church to be united with; and that it is the duty of every man to whom they are sufficiently proposed, to receive them with entire devotion.

SECTION IV.

UNITY IN FAITH CONSIDERED AS AN ATTRIBUTE AND SIGN OF THE CHURCH.

From what has been said in the last section, it appears that particular churches or individuals may be in error sometimes without incurring the guilt of heresy, or being separated in any respect from the catholic church. Bellarmine himself admits that there may be true churches without the entire and sincere profession of the truth of God: *e. g.* those of Corinth and Galatia, which erred in the matter of the resurrection and the law of Moses.[r] I proceed now to apply the principles established, to the question of unity of faith considered, first, as an *attribute*, and secondly, as a *sign*, of the church of Christ.

1. It has been shown that there may be doctrinal differences in the catholic church generally, or between particular churches;

[r] Bellarmin. de Conc. et Eccl. lib. iv. c. 2.

that doctrines of faith actually revealed may sometimes be controverted in the catholic church; and that erroneous doctrines may sometimes be received as matters of faith; in either case without heresy or separation from the unity of faith.

We may conclude from this that although it is absolutely the duty of all Christians to receive the whole truth revealed, and though they are bound unceasingly to watch over the precious deposit of the faith, and to desire most earnestly a perfect union and concord amongst the brethren in all matters of religion; still there is no promise that the catholic church shall at all times be *in fact*, perfectly agreed in all the articles of Revelation. It is however to be inferred most certainly from the positions laid down at the beginning of this chapter, that Christ has provided the whole church with some method for preserving or recovering within itself, perfect unity in this respect. So strong an obligation to believe the truth and to avoid all false doctrine, infers the *possibility* of obedience, and the institution, by God himself, of some ordinary means for the purpose. While these means are resorted to, on all hands, with good faith, and while there is an implicit belief in all that Christ has revealed, and all that the church has received from him; there may be some differences for a time in particular doctrines, arising from different but probable application of the same rule; and yet without heresy on either side. I do not suppose, however, that these differences would extend (except under very peculiar circumstances) to any matter of faith certainly revealed by Christ; because it is improbable that churches should entirely mistake the application of the general rule of judgment in such a case, if they apparently apply it with diligence and good intentions; and especially when the divine aid is promised to the disciples of Christ: "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" and again: "The Spirit of truth shall lead you into all truth." It is possible, however, that through some great ignorance, or some strong prejudice, particular churches, or a part of the universal church, may be for a time misled in some point: I do not here speak

of the universal church, or affirm that it can err when judging collectively. This will be treated on elsewhere.

2. I am now to speak of unity in faith as a *sign* of the church, or a means by which we can discriminate it easily from all rival societies.

I contend that *actual* unity in all matters of faith, cannot be a sign of the church in this sense; for,

First, an apparent difference in doctrine between Christian societies, does not furnish, alone, any proof that there is a real difference in faith. Before we can prove this, we must know the rule by which we are to distinguish between truths certainly revealed and matters of opinion: we must apply this rule equitably and patiently to the questions in controversy, to determine whether or not the existing difference is permissible. We must also consider whether the apparent differences in faith are, or are not, more verbal than real; whether or no they arise from mutual misunderstandings; whether they are held as matters of probability and with a mind undetermined, or as matters of certainty; whether they are the doctrines of individuals within churches or of those churches themselves. All this must be examined into before it can be positively affirmed that in a particular case there is a difference in a matter of faith. The fact is that absolute and perfect apparent unity in doctrine, cannot be pretended to by any society of professing Christians. It is not merely the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Zuinglians, who differ. There are disputes in the Eastern churches; and in the Roman Obedience, (not to mention the differences about Jansenism,) the controversies of Jesuits, Dominicans and Augustinians, of Scotists and Thomists, of Ultramontanes and Cisalpines, are well known. These latter differences *may not* relate to matters of faith or questions decided by the universal church, as the Romish controversialists pretend; but still they are apparent differences in doctrine, and in order to determine that they really do not concern matters of faith, it is necessary to proceed through the lengthened process above alluded to; for surely Romanists would not have us to believe the mere assertion of

some controversialists; especially when several other theologians of their own affirm that these disputes *do* concern faith, and that one or other party amongst them are heretics.[s]

Secondly. The apparent existence of unity in faith is not a proof of such unity as Christ requires in his church, because there may be a *unity of error*. There is no impossibility in the supposition that a heretical body may possess as much apparent unity as the church in doctrine. For example, the Nestorians or Eutychians are not less apparently united in their faith than the Eastern or the Roman churches. This unity may therefore be a unity in error, and in order to determine whether it be so or not, we must enter on a long course of investigation.

It may be concluded then, that *apparent* unity or *apparent* difference in faith is not a safe ground to proceed on, in discriminating the true church from all rival communities; and the question of *real* unity involves a too extensive examination. But I shall in the next section show, that we may deduce from

[s] Dr. Milner admits that "they have also disputes in their schools," but "these disputes are *not* about articles of faith."—End of Controv. lett. xvi. Dr. Baines also asserts: "the doctrines of the catholic religion are every where the same. Not a difference will be found in any single *article of faith*, amongst all its countless millions," &c.—Sermon at Bradford, 1825. As an illustration of these assertions, it may be sufficient to direct the reader to Bossuet's Defens. declar. Cleri Gall. (Appendix, lib. ii. c. 13.) where he says, that Bellarmine, Stapleton, &c. hold the Galliean doctrine of the superiority of a general council to the Pope, to be *heretical*, and that Christianus Lupus, Nicholas Dubois, the bishop of Strigonium, &c. regard the question as one *de fide*. Nicholas Cevoli even maintained that "the propositions of the Galliean clergy are every one taken out of Calvin's Institutes, and are plainly *heretical:* that the bishops who confirmed them are, as schismatics and heretics, cut off from the church, and *ipso facto* deprived of all episcopal jurisdiction; that their communion should be avoided, and even that they ought to be *burned!*" On the other side the Cardinal of Lorrain, and Richerius, with a large number of others, held that the Ultramontane doctrine, as condemned by the Councils of Constance and Basil, was heretical, (see Bossuet, Gallia Orthodoxa, s. xvii.) Even Bossuet says, in his "Defensio," that the question is one *de fide*, though he does not condemn the Ultramontanes as heretics. See Part iv. Chap. vi.

the obligation of unity in faith, certain conclusions which will aid us to discriminate the true church.

SECTION V.

CONCLUSIONS.

1. Christ having enjoined unity in the belief of the truth on all Christians, there must necessarily be in his church some means for preserving or restoring this unity, as well in particular churches as in the church universal; and, therefore, all those societies which are prevented by their fundamental principles from sustaining unity in the truth, cannot be churches of Christ.

2. Any society which either separated itself from, or was cut off by the great body of the church of Christ in any one question of faith, after due examination and without any manifest irregularity of proceeding, is not to be accounted a portion of Christ's church.[t]

3. Communities which notoriously differ from each other on every point of Christian doctrine, cannot all be of the church of Christ.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Though the apostles were enabled to determine what was damnable doctrine, yet Christians in succeeding ages, and now, cannot determine whether any particular doctrine is damnable. Their decision is fallible and uncertain, and therefore they cannot maintain any doctrine to be false and heretical.

Answer. This objection assumes as its basis, that there are now no *certain* means of ascertaining what is true and what is

[t] [So long as it continues to hold the error for which it was cut off. If, with a jurisdiction originally valid, the succession of the ministry, and the orderly administration of the word and sacraments, are continued, and after a time the original error is either formally or tacitly abandoned, the want of a formal reception into communion with other churches, from whatever cause, can hardly be deemed to be an effectual exclusion from the church catholic.]

false in religion. Were this the case, the regulations and declarations of Scripture with regard to heresy, would certainly be obsolete and nugatory. But this cannot be true, because several of them relate to the very latter times of the church, and warn us that even in those ages when the apostles shall have long slept, false teachers, heretics, antichrists, false prophets, are to be avoided: that a belief in the truth is still to be the way of salvation, and damnation to be the portion of those that believe a lie, and believe not the truth.

To doubt then, that in the very latter days of the church, there shall still be some means of ascertaining the truth, and so ascertaining it as not to be misled by false teachers, is to doubt what inevitably results from Scripture itself. But the truth is, that the argument when stripped of its disguise, is essentially subversive of Christianity. If there have not always been sufficient means of ascertaining some truths to have been taught by Jesus Christ, the revelation of Christ was only designed for temporary purposes. It was not designed to illuminate future ages. It does not concern us. Consequently this principle is not Christian.[u] We are bound, on the supposition that revelation is designed for us, to assume it as *certain*, that there are means of clearly and positively ascertaining some truth to have been actually revealed by Christ. *What* those means are, is a subject for separate consideration; I shall hereafter show that they are Scripture and universal tradition. But we are entitled as Christians to calculate positively on their existence, and therefore to affirm that *the truth* as revealed by Christ is imperative on us.

II. The essential principle of the Reformation is, the right of private judgment, that is, the liberty of individuals to maintain whatever their own judgment deduces from Scripture; but it is impossible that there should not be infinite differences of opinion between individuals; therefore (according to the

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[u] See Hook, sermon ii. before the University of Oxford, p. 39.

principle of the Reformation) no degree of uniformity of faith can be requisite to salvation.

Answer. (1.) If the essential principle of the Reformation justified individuals in maintaining what was contrary to the truth revealed by Christ, the Reformation would be indefensible; but I deny that the Reformers held this principle. Their conduct proves the reverse, for, as I have before shown, and shall hereafter prove more fully,[v] they refused to hold communion with such as they judged heretics, and by their reception of the Athanasian creed, maintained the necessity of believing the truth revealed by Jesus Christ. (2.) If the conclusion of the objection be defended as a *truth*, independently of its supposed connexion with the Reformation, then it follows that Christianity is only a name; for if no truth revealed by Christ can now be certainly ascertained, or if it is lawful to deny it, the Gospel must be either obsolete or false. Therefore the conclusion leads directly to the subversion of religion. But if it be admitted that *any* truth revealed by Christ can now be ascertained, it must be necessary to believe that truth. Therefore the *principle* must be admitted.

III. It is impossible to defend the Reformation, except by maintaining the right of private judgment as above.

Answer. (1.) This objection cannot proceed from the friends of the reformed, because it would at once, without proceeding another step, prove the Reformation unjustifiable. Accordingly, it is advanced by Romanists, and by those who maintain that the societies of the Reformation have acted tyranically and inconsistently, in requiring belief in any creeds. (2.) I deny the fact, and shall hereafter justify the Reformation on different grounds altogether.

IV. If the belief of particular doctrines be held necessary to salvation, the infidel may reasonably object that Christianity cannot be true; for, had it been designed for the salvation of men, it could not have failed in its object, and been the subject of perpetual dispute among its adherents.

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[v] See chapter xii. sect. iii. and part II. chapter vi.

Answer. (1.) I deny the consequence; for it sufficiently vindicates the merciful design of God, if the means of salvation be *offered* to men, without any compulsion on them to avail themselves of those means. It was not the design of God to force men to believe and be saved, but to draw them by the persuasive power of divine grace. Therefore if Christianity be rejected or perverted by some men, while it is received by others, it does not fail of its design. (2.) Many disputes among Christians are consistent with uniform belief in the truth certainly revealed by Jesus Christ.

V. Christian truth has no existence external to the mind of each individual. It is not the letter, but the sense of the Bible, and that sense only exists in our own minds. Therefore it is impossible to affirm that any individual does not maintain the truth, because the persuasion of his own mind is the truth.

Answer. (1.) If the sense of each individual mind is truth, then those who hold Christ to be a mere man believe the *truth;* and those who hold the *contrary,* believe the truth also; that is, contradictory propositions are both true; which is absurd, and destroys the very nature of truth. (2.) Every proposition relating to Christianity is either true or false, antecedently to its being presented to the mind of man. Therefore the judgment of the mind does not affect the truth or falsehood of Christian doctrines.

VI. It is cruel and inhuman to deny salvation to those who merely hold erroneous doctrines.

Answer. (1.) It is not unreasonable that Christ should require belief in the truth revealed by him, because he had a right to offer salvation to man on whatever terms he pleased. Now, belief in the truth revealed by him is not an impossible condition, because though it might be impossible for any man to constrain his own judgment to be different from what it actually is, and though it would be cruel in any other man to attempt to force him to change it, yet the difficulty is at an end, when the authority of *God* decides what is true; because however inclined our judgment may have been to the contrary, there is

now a reason which is irresistibly convincing; namely, the infallibility of God himself.[w] Consequently it is not impossible to believe the truth certainly revealed by Christ, and it cannot be cruel or unreasonable in Him to require belief in it. (2.) It has been before observed, that every difference in matters of religion does not infer heresy, and the distinctions there made, exempt many from the operation of this principle.

VII. Heretics are not more offensive to God, than those who are guilty of offences against the moral law; but the latter do not necessarily cease to be members of the church, therefore the former may also be members of the church.

Answer. The wicked not excommunicated are only externally, and therefore imperfectly, members of the church, and will not receive salvation except they repent. Heretics who are not excommunicated openly, by their own act, or by the act of the church, are in the same state. But if separated from the communion of the church, they are not even externally members of it, like those who are justly excommunicated for their sins.

VIII. Those who upheld the Mosaic law after the decree of the apostles in the Council of Jerusalem, were heretics; and yet the apostles held communion with them (Acts xxi. 20). Therefore they formed part of the church.

Answer. The apostles had not decreed the abolition of legal observances as related to the Jews, but only to the Gentiles; but those who were zealous of the law in this place were Jews. Therefore they were not disobedient to the apostles.

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[w] [It is obvious that this answer presumes the objection to be made in behalf of *heresy* in the strictest sense, *viz.*, the pertinacious refusal to believe what is *known* to be divinity taught. It does not meet the plea that it is hard to punish men for not believing that God *has* revealed certain doctrines. But then, on the other hand, that plea does not lie against the author's doctrine, limited as it has been in the outset of his statement. The ground of punishment of heresy is not *the fact* that a portion of revealed truth is not received as such, but the *disposition* which is the producing cause. The evidence of the truth being the same, the difference is in the recipient, and therefore punishable.]

IX. We are forbidden to judge other men's doctrines to be heretical or false by the following passage: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth; yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand. One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind" (Rom. xiv. 4, 5).

Answer. These differences of opinion related to matters in which difference was *justifiable*, not to matters of faith clearly revealed by Christ. In such matters of opinion we grant, that it is unlawful to condemn our neighbours; but "If any man preach any other gospel than that has been preached, let him be anathema" (Gal. i. 9); and "If any man come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house" (2 John 10). Therefore we are bound to reject heretics, and consequently must have some means and some right to determine what is heresy.

X. "In a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour," &c. (2 Tim. ii. 20). The apostle here includes heretics and false teachers in the church, having just before spoken of Hymenæus and Philetus (v. 17).

Answer. Assuming that the apostle here speaks of heretics as "vessels of wood and earth" made to "dishonour," he only refers to those who having not yet been openly separated, or excommunicated, are *imperfectly* in the church; and, even of these, he declares, that they are to "dishonour," that is, to destruction. *A fortiori* then all those who are openly separated from the church.

XI. Sincerity, or a full persuasion that our interpretation of God's law is *right*, is always sufficient to justify us in God's sight, even if we are in error. (This is the principle of Hoadly and his disciples.)

Answer. I reply with Rogers,[x] that if this alone be in all

[x] Visible and Invisible Church, part i. c. 6.

cases sufficient, then no one is strictly bound to obey any laws of Christ in the meaning he intended in them; no plainness is sufficient to oblige us to understand them, and there can be no such thing as a culpable mistake. Even he who rejects *Christianity* because he is persuaded it is false, must be as acceptable to God, as he who accepts it because he believes it true. Yet our Saviour denounced heavy woes against those who rejected him (Matt. xi. 21; Mark xvi. 16). I maintain, on the contrary, as a self-evident position, that Christians are bound to obey the laws and believe the doctrine of Christ, and that nothing but natural incapacity, or blameless ignorance, can be pleaded in excuse for their not doing so.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. V.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF FUNDAMENTALS.

Dr. Waterland, in his discourse on Fundamentals, observes, that since the beginning of the seventeenth century this subject has passed through many learned and judicious hands, "most of them complaining of the *perplexities* appearing in it, but all bearing testimony to the great weight and importance of it."[y] According to certain theologians of Holland, Germany, and Geneva, quoted by him, the questions of toleration, heresy, secession, schism, union of churches, excommunication, &c. all depend on distinguishing fundamentals in religion. It appears, I think, on examining various controversies which have almost entirely turned on this point, that the perplexity so much and so justly complained of, has arisen, and must continue to prevail, from the use of the *term* "Fundamental." This term is capable of so many meanings as applied to Christian doctrine, and it actually is, has been, and must continue to be, used in so great a diversity of senses, that it is morally impossible to avoid perplexity while it is employed in controversy. As an ambiguous

[y] Waterland's Works, by Van Mildert, vol. viii. p. 87.

term, as conveying no one definite notion, it seems unqualified to be of any practical utility in questions of controversy.

1. The term "fundamental" may rightly and properly be applied to very different notions in religion. It may mean what is at the basis of all religion; that is, belief in the existence and attributes of God, or it may express what is the first step in the Christian religion—belief in Christ as the Messiah, or as a messenger sent from God. It may signify those articles of Christianity from which others seem to be derived. It may with equal propriety mean articles of faith clearly revealed by Christ, as distinguished from opinions or doctrines deduced by human reasoning. It may mean those doctrines which are necessary to be explicitly believed or known by all men in order to salvation, or those doctrines which must be believed by every one to whom they are sufficiently proposed, or which must be believed either explicitly, or else implicitly, in order to salvation. The term "fundamental" may be employed without any impropriety in any one of these senses, and even in *others* which it is needless to specify in this place. There is nothing in the term itself which fixes it to any one of them. It seems to imply by its constitution anything which is at the foundation or beginning, and therefore is *important* or *essential* in some sense or other, either positively essential to Christianity itself, or relatively essential to us or some of us, in some sense. This vagueness and generality of the term itself is not limited by common usage; for

2. The term "fundamental" is actually used in the greatest variety of meanings by different writers of eminence, and even by the same writers. Chillingworth, in one part of his "Religion of Protestants," says: "That may be sufficiently declared to one (all things considered) which (all things considered), to another is not sufficiently declared; and consequently *that may be fundamental and necessary to one which to another is not so.*"[z] In a few pages afterwards he says: "Fundamental

[z] Religion of Protestants, chap. iii. s. 13.

points are those only which are revealed by God, and commanded to be *preached to all and believed by all*."[a] In the first quotation fundamentals are regarded as doctrines which must be believed by those only to whom they are sufficiently declared; in the second, they are regarded as doctrines necessary to be believed by all men. Laud in one place understands by them, doctrines which must be believed expressly and *explicitly* by all men without exception, and which no man can be ignorant of without loss of salvation."[b] In another place he says, that certain points "are not *formally fundamental for all men*, but for such as are able to make or understand them," &c.[c] Accordingly, he teaches in one place that the Apostles' Creed contains all fundamentals;[d] in another, that not only the creed itself but certain *deductions* from it are fundamental.[e] Waterland regards fundamentals in religion or Christianity as matters "so necessary to its *being*, or at least its *well-being*, that it could not *subsist*, or not maintain itself *tolerably* without it." Here are two very different notions in the same definition of fundamentals; one which connects these with the very *existence* of religion, another which connects them only with its *perfection*. This may suffice as a specimen of the great diversity of meanings in which the term is used by writers of respectability.[g] In

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[a] Religion of Protestants, chap. iii. s. 20.

[b] Conference with Fisher, s. 10. [c] Ibid. p. 331. [d] § 11.

[e] P. 28. 334. [f] Works, viii. p. 88.

[g] [It may be worth while to observe that those meanings vary accordingly as the term is used subjectively or objectively, and according to the different grades of subjectivity and modes of objectivity.

Laud and Chillingworth, for example, use it subjectively, and in two grades. (1.) With reference *to a church*, in the first passage of Laud and the last of Chillingworth. (2.) With reference *to an individual*, in the other passages. In this way, there may be three grades of fundamentals. (1.) Those which are such *to the church catholic*, which always have formed and always must form part of its faith. This is the widest sense, and at the same time the most definite; comprising what Mr. Palmer designates as doctrines "actually" and "certainly" "revealed by CHRIST." (2.) Those which are such to *a particular church*; the denial of which, in any way,

fact, all those various senses which I have alluded to above as fairly and rightly to be connected with the term, have been really in fact so connected by writers of our own churches, and of various other churches and sects.

3. Waterland observes, with perfect truth, that there are "almost as many different *rules* for determining fundamentals, as there are sects or parties,"[h] and thus, "that which might otherwise serve (if all men were reasonable)[i] to end all differences, has itself been too often made one principal bone of contention." Accordingly, having himself first laid down the Christian *covenant* and its parts, as the rule for determining fundamentals, he proceeds to detail the different rules of other writers as follows. (1.) Some regard the *definition of the church* as the rule of fundamentals. (This is the doctrine generally maintained by Romanists, as we may see in Knott,

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would destroy its character as a church of CHRIST, and so cut it off from the church catholic. To this sense, the writers maintaining the 5th opinion recounted in our author's next paragraph, usually refer. (3.) Those which are such to *every individual member of a church*, without which his membership is dead, and devoid of saving efficacy. This is the narrowest, and least determinable sense; and to the attempts to cope with its difficulties much of the perplexity attending the discussion of the subject of fundamentals may be attributed.

On the other hand, Waterland furnishes an example of the *objective* use of the term "fundamental," with reference sometimes to the *relative* objectivity of doctrines, as they bear upon the relations of the individual to GOD, and sometimes to their *abstract* objectivity, as parts of an entire and connected system of truth.

No doubt, the *objective* and *subjective* necessity of revealed truth are exactly co-relative, and would invariably so appear to us, were we entirely competent to the scrutiny. But the practical aspect of the inquiry is in the latter branch, and the speculative character of the former has generally tended to the undue exaltation of human reason.]

[h] Works, viii. p. 90.

[i] Or, rather, *united* in their sense of the term, and their rule for applying it. It does not seem that there is any thing *unreasonable* in employing the term in a sense different from what *we* judge best. It is merely a difference of language and usage.

the Jesuit, Tournely, Bailly, and other of their divines.) (2.) Some regard whatever is asserted in sacred Scripture as fundamental. (3.) Others hold every thing that is *expressly* taught in Scripture to be fundamental, and nothing which is not so taught. (4.) Another rule is, that what Scripture has *expressly declared necessary* is alone fundamental. (5.) Several eminent writers, as Petit, Usher, Davenant, Calixtus, Chillingworth, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Whitby, &c. have referred to the Apostles' Creed as the rule and sample of fundamentals. (6.) Others, with the Arian Clarke, teach that the fundamentals of religion are defined by Hebrews vi. 1, 2. and that we may differ about every thing else. (7.) Locke and others regard the profession of faith made by converts to Christianity in the apostolic age, viz. "that Jesus is the Messiah," as the only fundamental. (8.) Universality of agreement among Christians so called, is the rule of fundamentals with some. (9.) Herbert and other infidels regarded the universal agreement of the whole race of mankind as the true measure of fundamentals. (10.) Some throw off all concern for a right faith as insignificant, and comprise all fundamentals in the single article of a *good life*, as they call it; to which some are pleased to add *faith* in the divine *promises*.[k] (11.) Some consider professed love to the Lord Jesus Christ as the only fundamental.

4. As it might be conjectured from the infinite variety and contradiction of the above definitions and rules, there is the greatest difficulty and uncertainty as to what doctrines are fundamental. Chillingworth declares that the variety of the circumstances of different men, "makes it *impossible* to set down an exact catalogue of fundamentals,"[l] and he is obliged to propose, as the only security against fundamental error, the belief that Scripture is true, and that it contains all things necessary to salvation; and the endeavour to find and believe the true sense of it.[m] Now if it be impossible to determine practically

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[k] Works, viii. p. 105—123 [l] Relig. of Prot. ch. iii. s. 13.

[m] Relig. of Prot. ch. iii. s. 13.

what are fundamentals in Christianity, the distinction is surely not available for practical purposes. Knott the Jesuit, Tourneley, Bailly, &c. regard all the definitions of the Synod of Trent as fundamentals. Chillingworth holds nothing fundamental beyond the Apostles' Creed. Others regard some of its articles as not fundamental. Laud esteems not only the creed, but some of the deductions from it fundamental. Locke includes the Socinians, Arians, and all other Unitarians among those that believe fundamentals. Jurieu, and others, exclude all that do not believe the Trinity. In short, this term is used in an infinite variety of different senses, according to contradictory rules and with contradictory conclusions.

5. Now it does not seem that individuals have any right to limit the term to any one meaning. In fact, it is impossible to do so. Men will, in despite of remonstrance, continue to use terms in the sense commonly understood, or customary among those with whom they associate. It is therefore perfectly useless to require of them to employ this term in the sense we judge most desirable. We cannot command human language, and therefore it would be better to abstain from the controversial use of a term which is so highly ambiguous. Its extraordinary ambiguity renders it unfit for all useful purposes in controversy. It can only cause confusion and perplexity, while it affords the most perfect facility to sophistical reasoners to escape from cogent arguments, by changing imperceptibly the sense of their propositions. Therefore those who propose any argument against the church, derived from "fundamentals," ought to be required at once to *define* the term, and to prove that their definition is correct, and that all other definitions are incorrect. They are next to be asked for the *rule* by which fundamentals are to be ascertained, and to *prove that rule*, and to prove that all other rules are wrong. Were this process resorted to, before we entered on a discussion concerning fundamentals, the perplexities which it invariably brings with it, would be at an end. If, as Waterland observes, there are as many *rules* for determining fundamentals as there are parties in religion, and if, (as he might

have added,) there are nearly as many different senses of the term; how can it be imagined that the doctrine of fundamentals can tend to diminish existing disputes, or throw any light on the questions of schism, heresy, excommunication, union of churches, &c.? This doctrine is itself the "chief bone of controversy," as Waterland says;[n] and while it continues to be so, how can it aid in determining other controversies? I do not deny that every one may form a notion of fundamentals in his own mind, and employ it in speculation to discriminate some parts of religion from others; but what I contend for is, that it is useless in general controversy.

6. It is very true, indeed, and very important to be remembered, that a *distinction* is to be made between doctrines, *i. e.* that all doctrines are not matters of faith. This distinction I have already alluded to, (chap. v. sect. iii.), and in another place it will be more fully examined (see Part iv. chap. vi.). But the distinction here referred to, and which is of the utmost value in all questions affecting the church, is rendered at once perplexed and unavailable, when the ambiguous term "fundamental" is connected with it.

7. Jurieu, and others after him, have pretended that the catholic church of Christ consists of all sects or denominations which agree in "fundamentals," and hence they include in the true church, Romanists, Greeks, Churchmen, Dissenters of all sorts, Nestorians, Eutychians, and only exclude Socinians.

This notion is altogether without solid foundation. In the first place it has been shown that the term "fundamental" is ambiguous and that we have no right to restrain it to one sense. Therefore the distinction in Jurieu's sense is entirely arbitrary, and there is no reason why he should affirm that the Socinians alone deny fundamental articles of religion. The Socinians themselves affirm that they believe fundamentals. The Romanists affirm that Jurieu and his party deny fundamentals. By what rule can it be proved that both are wrong? Secondly, it

[n] Works, viii. p. 90.

has been shown that voluntary separation from the church, excludes those who are guilty of it entirely from the church of Christ, and that those are also cut off from the church, who are regularly and legitimately excommunicated by it. Therefore sects which are in such a condition, form no portion of the church, even though they should be tolerably sound in the articles of the Christian faith.

8. There is a notion floating in some minds, that some doctrines of revelation are more important than others, and that, provided men believe aright in the more important matters, it is not of much consequence if they err in lesser doctrines. Waterland himself seems to have been led inadvertently to countenance this notion in some degree.[o] He says, that in cases, "where the truth of the doctrine is at least *morally certain*, and the *importance of it* only *doubtful*, in such cases communion ought not to be divided or broken."[p] Taking his words in connexion with the mode in which he determines fundamental doctrines, by reasoning from the nature of a covenant, it would seem that some doctrines actually revealed by Christ, are less important than others, and that we may tolerate error in the one case, but not in the other. This view is certainly entertained by some without sufficient consideration. But it seems that such an opinion is unsafe, because if Christ did indeed reveal a particular doctrine, it must surely be of the utmost importance to man, though it may be less important in itself than other doctrines. I do not deny that we may, by a sort of intuitive light of faith, distinguish some doctrines of revelation as greater and more sublime than others: but it seems exceedingly dangerous to attempt by human reasoning to weigh the *importance* of truths certainly revealed by Christ, relatively to each other. It may be possible that the Holy Spirit should so far enlighten the understanding of some saints, as to enable them to measure those truths immeasurable by human wisdom; but a process of

[o] [Plainly, by confounding the abstract *objective* necessity of a doctrine with its *subjective* necessity.]

[p] P. 102.

theological *reasoning* for this purpose seems scarcely consistent with the simplicity of faith. It constitutes man as it were the judge of his Creator, and it must be impossible to the infinite majority of men, because there is a much more practical and important question first to be determined: What are *all* the doctrines actually revealed by Christ? Few men, perhaps, have completely mastered this question; and yet it is a necessary preliminary to any examination of the relative *importance* of doctrines, because Christian doctrines are so concatenated, that without a perfect view of all, it would be impossible even to attempt their comparison. As it has been truly observed by an eminent and excellent writer: "The sacred building is so divinely though invisibly cemented, that for aught we know, it is impossible to remove any portion, either of scriptural or traditionary truth, without weakening the whole arch. We, to whom the whole is committed, . . let us above all things, beware of the presumption of selecting for ourselves among the truths and laws of the Most High, *which* we will retain, and *which* we may venture to dispense with."[q] Whatever foundation there may be for the notion, that some doctrines are more important in themselves than others, it cannot be supposed that any doctrine certainly revealed by Christ is unimportant to *us*, or that it may be safely disbelieved, or that we may recognize as Christians those who obstinately disbelieve such a doctrine. If, indeed, there be some special and strong reason, which exempts them from the imputation of pertinacity in opposition to the manifest truth; or if it be only *probable* that the doctrine in question was revealed by Christ, while there is also a probability that he did *not* reveal it; in such a case error is tolerable; but if there be not any such evident excuse, the denial of *any truth* of faith or morality revealed by Christ is heretical, anti-christian, and destructive of salvation.

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[q] Sermon on Primitive Tradition, by the Rev. J. Keble, Professor of Poetry, p. 46.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE SANCTITY OF THE CHURCH.

The sanctity of the church may be considered in several different points of view. First, the sanctity of its Head, and of those who founded it; secondly, the holiness of its doctrine; thirdly, the means of holiness which it has in the Sacraments; fourthly, the actual holiness of its members; and fifthly, the divine attestations of holiness in miracles.

1. The Divine Head and Founder of the church is the essential origin and source of all its holiness. "He gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people zealous of good works."[a] The glorious efficacy of his sacrifice procured the mission of the Eternal Comforter, the author of every good gift, and the source of all heavenly grace in the word and sacraments of Christianity.—The apostles of our Lord were commissioned by Him, with the authority which he had received from the Father, to found the Christian church; and all churches must therefore derive their origin from the apostles, either by proving that they were originally founded by the apostolic preaching, and have perpetually existed as societies from that moment to the present; or else they must be prepared to show that, at their origin, they were derived peaceably and with Christian charity from the apostolical churches, or that they were subsequently received into Christian communion by such churches. These are the only conceivable ways in which any church can pretend to prove that it was founded by the apostles immediately or mediately. If any society was not founded actually by the apostles, nor yet founded by the successors of the apostles and the apostolical

[a] Tit. ii. 14.

churches, but in the moment of its birth separated itself from the communion and religion of all such churches; if it was never received afterwards, and engrafted into the communion of churches, apostolical in their origin or derivation; it is impossible that such a society can in any way show that it was founded by the apostles of Jesus Christ. This is a point which may be easily determined in any particular case by the facts of history, and it affords an excellent sign or test of the church of Christ.

2. It is undeniable that the end of Christ's mission on earth was the sanctification of his people. He "called us with a holy calling."[b] His will is "our sanctification."[c] Therefore if it could be clearly shown that any society professing to be Christian, denied the obligation of good works, and taught its members that they might freely indulge in wickedness, such a society would be evidently anathema from Jesus Christ. Nothing further could be required to prove it.

3. The *means* of sanctity in the sacraments cannot with propriety be reckoned among the *signs* of the church, for before we determine whether a society is deficient in any of these means, we must enter on the whole subject of the sacraments, which would lead to a discussion much too lengthened, and beyond the capacity of the majority of men. Romanists argue that the true and valid administration of the sacraments is not a note of the church,[d] therefore they cannot consistently enter on the discussion of those sacraments as a means of holiness.

4. I now come to the question of the actual holiness of the *members* of the church.[e] It is asserted by some that a society which includes a number of unholy men cannot be a church of

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[b] 2 Tim. i. 9. [c] 1 Thess. iv. 3.

[d] Tournely, de Ecclesia, tom. i. p. 63, &c. Bailly, Tractatus de Eccl. Christ. tom. i. p. 62. Bouvier, de vera Ecclesia, p. 79. Collet, Inst. Theolog. Scholast. tom. ii. p. 450.

[e] [The seeming paradox that *unholy* men may be members of a *holy* church, and as such, therefore *holy*, arises in great measure from the ambiguity of the terms "sanctus," "sanctitus," "holy," "holiness." Between the ἁγιότης or ἁγιωσυνη which the Scriptures and primitive writers ascribe to

Christ, that the true church comprises only saints or perfect Christians, and that sinners cannot be members of it. The Novatians and Donatists considered all who were guilty of great sins as forming no part of the church. The Pelagians held the church to consist only of perfect men free from sin. The Wickliffites taught that the church includes only the predestinate. The Anabaptists and the English dissenters asserted, that it consists only of those who are visibly holy in their lives; and the latter founded their separation from the church on the principle that she comprised so many sinners in her communion. Therefore they departed from her to form a pure society of saints in which no sinner was to find place. Their whole system was founded, and continues to be maintained on the fiction that their communities are all holy, pure, perfect saints, incapable of passion, strife, tyranny, &c.[f] Against these principles, which have unhappily been refuted long ago by *experience*, I maintain the following position.

THOSE WHO ARE SINNERS, AND DEVOID OF LIVELY FAITH, ARE SOMETIMES EXTERNALLY MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

This is proved from Scripture. Christ compares the church, or kingdom of heaven, to "a field" in which tares and wheat, that is, evil men and good, grow till the harvest, *i. e.* the end of the world (Matt. xiii. 24—30. 37—43); to "a net that was cast into the sea and gathered of every kind," that is, both "the wicked" and "the just" (xiii. 47—50). The church is elsewhere spoken of under the figure of "a wedding feast," whereto the servants "gathered together all, as many as they

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the visible church, and the ὀσιότης which is the characteristic of its lively members there is a clear and broad distinction, never left out of view. This is especially observable in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. It is to be regretted that writers on theology have so often allowed themselves to be entangled by the looser language of the Western church, when the precision of the *native* language of the church might have saved them from many difficulties and much discussion.]

[f] See Chapter XIII.

found, both bad and good" (Matt. xxii. 10); and to "a great house," in which "there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earth; and some to honour, and some to dishonour" (2 Tim. ii. 20). These texts prove sufficiently, that while the church of God exists on this earth, it will comprise evil men as well as good in its communion; and accordingly, as we learn from St. Augustine in his account of the conference at Carthage, the Donatists were entirely overcome by them.[g] It is almost superfluous to add, that the primitive church fully concurred with the above principle, as might be easily shown from Jerome, Augustine, Fulgentius, Gregory, &c.[h] As soon as the Donatist and Pelagian errors on this subject were advanced, they were refuted by St. Jerome in his book "Contra Pelagianos," and by St. Augustine in his books against the epistles of the Donatists Parmenianus and Petilianus, and in other treatises. The Lutherans and Calvinists also maintained sound views on this subject. The former say, "We admit that hypocrites and evil men in this life are joined with the church, and are *members of the church* as far as relates to external participation in its signs, that is the word, the profession, and the sacraments, especially if they be not excommunicated."[i] Calvin argues at great length, and with his usual energy, against the doctrine of the Anabaptists and the modern dissenters.[k] He says, "In the church are many hy-

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g August. Brev. Coll. et Liber post Collationem.

h Hier. dial. adv. Lucifer. ultra medium. Fulgentius de Remiss. Peccat. c. 18. Gregor. lib. 2. in Ezek. hom. iv. n. 16. See Pearson on the Creed, art. ix. Field, Of the Church, book i. ch. 16, 17, 18.

Apologia Confessionis August. iv. de Ecclesia. See also the Confession of Augsburg, art. viii. The Formula Concordiæ, another Lutheran Confession, "rejects and condemns" amongst the "Errores Anabaptistarum" this; "Non esse eam veram et Christianam Ecclesiam, in qua peccatores reperiantur." (Form. Conc. pars. ii. ad fin.) The Sax. Conf. (art. xii.) says, "Improbamus et colluviem Anabaptisticam, quæ finxit ecclesiam visibilem, in qua omnes sint sancti."

k Calvin. Institut. lib. iv. c. i. sect. 13—29.

pocrites mixed, who have nothing of Christ except the name and appearance: many ambitious, covetous, envious, slandering men; some of impure life, who are tolerated for a time, either because they cannot be convicted by a lawful judgment, or because due severity of discipline is not always in force."[1]

But the Donatists discovered a distinction which has been adopted by the more modern sects. They admitted that sinners might indeed exist in communion with the church, but they denied that open and manifest sinners could in any respect be of the church. In reply to this distinction I proceed to show, that,

MANIFEST SINNERS ARE SOMETIMES EXTERNALLY MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH, AND EXERCISE THE PRIVILEGE OF ITS MEMBERS.

St. Paul, in his epistle to the Corinthians, styles them "the church of God which is at Corinth" (1 Cor. i. 2); yet *in this church* of God "were envying, and strife, and divisions" (iii. 3); "Going to law against each other," and that "before the heathen" (vi. 1. 6, 7); and even "fornication, such is not so much as named among the Gentiles" (v. i). This clearly proves that manifest sinners are sometimes found in the church, for the person last alluded to was not separated from the church of Corinth, *until* the apostle had rebuked them, and commanded him to be delivered to Satan (v. 5); yet the Corinthian church is not considered by the apostle to have been apostate, because this sinner was in their communion. The same is proved by the words to "the *church* in Thyatira."—"I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to

[1] Ibid. sect. 7. The same doctrine is taught by the Tetrapolitan Confession, in which it is said, that "many will be mixed in the church even to the end of the world, who do not really believe in Christ, but pretend to do so" (cap. xv.). It is also taught by the Helvetic Confession (cap. xvii.), the Gallican (xxvii.), the Bohemian (art. viii.).

idols" (Rev. ii. 18. 20). And to the "*Church* in Sardis," it is said, "thou hast a *few* names, *even in Sardis*, which have not defiled their garments" (Rev. iii. 1. 4). In both of these churches it is manifest that there were great and glaring offences. It is further proved, by the parable of the evil servant, whom his Lord made ruler, and who "shall begin to smite his fellow-servants, and to eat and drink with the drunken" (Matt. xxiv. 45—51); for this parable refers to evil pastors in Christ's church, who are represented in possession of authority over the church, and in its external communion, while they are guilty of gross sins: it is thus interpreted by Hilary, Jerome, and Chrysostom. The mere fact then, that there are known sinners in any church, does not annihilate its character, render it apostate, or deprive it of the rights which belong to it by divine institution. Nor does an improper *delay* in expelling the offenders, as appears by the case of the churches of Corinth, Thyatira, and Sardis. Such faults and defects of discipline are found in every society of Christians alike. Thus the dissenters, in describing their system say; "A much greater evil, however, is to be found in the retaining of persons as *church-members*, when their character plainly unfits them for such a station. Instances have not been wanting, in which persons of NOTORIOUS IMMORALITY, such as habitual drunkards, and others, have remained in undisturbed possession of their *membership*; while, in other cases, there has been manifested a considerable unwillingness to inquire into accusations, to bring faults to light, and to act with consistency and decision upon them when proved."[m] "Our character," they say, "as *professors*, has not been duly distinct from that of the world around us; to say nothing of occasional (but *too frequent*) instances of IMMORALITY, to say nothing even of habitual faults far short of immorality, there is between the world and the congregational churches (in common we admit, but with no pleasure, with the

[m] Essays on Church Polity, vol. ii. p. 185.

bulk of other communities,) far too small a difference of level."[n]

Notwithstanding this, it is clear, that such defects of discipline in their own communities, are tolerated with great charity by the dissenters. They hold communion and intercourse with societies in which discipline is thus relaxed, and acknowledge their Christian character; nor does it appear that any inquiry is ever instituted as to the state of particular societies, to ascertain their conduct in this respect, or that any of them are ever rejected by the rest, in consequence of a defective discipline. By no means: they can make allowance for the difficulties of the case, and are unwilling to condemn the good with the evil. We have only to regret, for their sakes, that the same rule of charity has never been extended to the church, by the dissenters and their predecessors; and that a laxity, which is excused in the case of those who profess to be *all saints*, is viewed as an abomination in the case of those who admit that there must always be sinners among them.

That the ungodly, whether secret or manifest, do not really belong to the church, considered as to its *invisible character*,—namely, as consisting of its essential and permanent members, the elect, predestinate, and sanctified, who are known to God only, I admit. It is also certain, that "if any man that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner," with such a one, we are "not to keep company, or even to eat" (1 Cor. v. 11). His society is to be abstained from by the faithful, and he ought to be separated from the church. But I deny that such men cease to belong externally to the church, *until* they are excommunicated, for otherwise excommunication would be a mere nullity,) or until they withdraw themselves from the church by some formal act of separation.

It is further contended by dissenters, that none but those who are visibly holy in their lives, can lawfully be admitted into the church. In opposition to this principle, I affirm that

[n] Essays on Church Polity, vol. ii. p. 188.

VISIBLE SANCTITY OF LIFE IS NOT REQUISITE FOR ADMISSION TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

First, the gospel was preached to publicans, harlots, sinners of all kinds, who were invited to repent and be baptized, and wash away their sins. After St. Peter had spoken, three thousand souls were at once baptized, and added to the church (Acts ii. 41. 47). Philip baptized the eunuch, on his simply professing his faith (Acts viii. 37, 38). Therefore a profession of repentance and faith in Christ, of willingness to obey his laws, and believe his words is a sufficient condition of baptism, unless there be some evident proof, at the same time, that the profession is hypocritical.

Secondly, the Scriptures and the universal church appoint only one mode in which Christians are to be made members of the church. It is baptism which renders us, by divine right, members of the church, and entitles us to all the privileges of the faithful: "For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ" . . . "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 27, 28). If baptism therefore makes men members of Christ, or clothes them with Christ, it follows necessarily that they must have, at once, a right to all the privileges of that part of the church in which they abide. It is admitted by those dissenters who allow the validity of infant baptism, that "it giveth them all the external rights and privileges which belong unto them that are regenerate, *until* they come to such seasons, wherein the personal performance of those duties, whereon the continuation of the estate of visible regeneration doth depend is required of them."[o] Since baptism therefore gives infants the external rights of the regenerate, those rights must still remain; (for it is absurd to suppose that the development of reason alone, should *deprive* them of them;) and consequently, at the age of reason, every baptized Christian has a *right* to all the external and general privileges of the church

[o] Owen's Gospel Church, p. 28.

instituted by Christ Jesus. Therefore it is contrary to sound doctrine, to institute any rite or ceremony, by which it is *then* pretended to make him a *member of the church*, as dissenters do.[p] If he be found guilty of scandalous offences, it is proper and right to suspend him from church communion; but otherwise as a baptized Christian, he has a *divine right* to every external privilege of the church. (See Chapter XIII.)

5. We are now to consider the question of *miracles*, as divine attestations of sanctity. It is needless to say, that Romanists are fond of arguing, that the performance of miracles is a sign of the true church, as it evinces the sanctity and orthodoxy of those who work them. The stupendous physical and moral miracles on which the truth of Christianity is based, are indeed beyond doubt, and irrefragably true: they stand alone, and demonstrate the divine mission of those who performed them. But the Revelation, which is based on these miracles tells us, that there should afterwards arise workers of miracles, "of great signs and wonders,"[q] who, far from being orthodox, or holy men, should be the agents of the Evil one. They tell us, that at the day of judgment, some of those who have "done many wonderful works," in Christ's name, shall be condemned;[r] that though we should speak with tongues, cast out devils, raise the dead, and yet be destitute of charity, it shall profit us nothing.[s] It is clear then, that signs and

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[p] Dissenters are obliged to confess that *their* mode of admitting people into the church is not mentioned in the Bible. "The manner," they say, "of *admitting members* to this church, is not indeed precisely stated in the sacred records."—Essays on Ch. Polity, vol. ii. p. 383. If this be so, the Scriptures cannot afford that exclusive guidance in matters of *discipline*, which the dissenters contend for. Surely "the admission of members" to the church, is one of the most practically important matters affecting it; if this be not exactly detailed in scripture, it cannot be expected that all the forms of government, rites, &c. should: and in that case, what becomes of the accusations against the Church, as guilty of adding to scripture; and what becomes of the duty of separating from her on this account?

[q] Matt. xxiv. 24. Mark xiii. 22.

[r] Matt. vii. 22. [s] 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2.

wonders are, since the Christian Revelation, not necessarily proofs of sanctity; and moreover, it is obviously the duty of Christians to look with jealousy on all pretended miracles.

Even amongst Romanists it does not seem that signs and wonders alone, are universally judged a sufficient proof of perfect sanctity. Christianus Lupus says, that "not every sort of sanctity is sufficient for canonization, even though it be distinguished by *miracles;* but it should also be eminent, and free from any *ill fame*." As an instance, he adduces the case of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, who had opposed the Roman pontiff, Innocentius; for which cause, says Knighton, "though Robert was resplendent with manifest miracles, he was not permitted to be canonized;" and Matthew Paris adds, that Sewallus, archbishop of York, who was excommunicated by Alexander IV. "performed miracles on his death-bed."[t] Baillet observes, that "men who are shining with miracles and sanctity," are sometimes not placed in the catalogue of Roman Saints, because they have troubled the Roman court, or in some manner given scandal.[u]

It is acknowledged by the Jesuit Salmeron, that miracles may be done by a false church. Espencæus, another Roman theologian, says, that "miracles are common to God and to the devil, to Christ and to Antichrist."[v] It is admitted by the fathers, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, and Augustine, that heretics wrought signs and wonders, and this is not denied even by Romanists;[w] They have been wrought in profusion by the Jansenists;[x] and they are pretended to not only by the Roman churches, but by the Oriental,[y] the Nestorians and Eutychians,

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[t] Tom. iii. Schol. in Can. p. 571, quoted by Van Espen, Jus Canonicum, pars i. tit. xxii. c. vii. sect. 7.

[u] Baillet, præfat. ad Vitas Sanctorum, n. 90. cited by Van Espen, ibid.

[v] Espencæus in 2 ad Tim.

[w] Tournely, de Ecclesia, tom. i. p. 153. See also, "A brief Discourse concerning the Notes of the Church," p. 261—264. ed. London, 1688.

[x] See Chapter XI. section iii.

[y] See Nectarii Hierosol. Confutatio Imperii Papæ, pp. 306. 337. 321—

the Hugonot prophets, the Irvingites, and sundry other sects. It is in vain for Romanists to pretend, that *their* miracles alone are authentic, or that they alone merit examination. This is a mere assumption, which is by no means founded in truth.

But further: the performance of miracles is not *essential* to real sanctity. It will not surely be pretended, even by Romanists, that all those who are honoured by the church as saints, must have wrought miracles; such a condition would be most highly inconvenient. It would be difficult to prove that Anacletus, and the other early bishops of Rome, who are accounted saints, wrought any miracles; and the same may be said of St. Dionysius of Corinth, Clement of Alexandria, the two Dionysii of Alexandria and Rome, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Alexander of Constantinople, Damasus, Amphilochius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, Isidore of Nitria, Meletius, Optatus, &c. &c. Tillemont and Fleury, who mention the miracles of the Saints wherever there is any evidence for them, appear to be silent as to any wrought by these holy men. I can only allude in general to the multitude of martyrs and confessors who constitute almost the whole mass of the ancient saints, and scarcely any of whom appear to have wrought miracles. History records the miracles of some individuals, but the great majority of the saints were only remarkable for holiness of life, zeal for the faith, confession, or martyrdom.

Tillemont observes, in his notice of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, that "there are *very few* saints in whom God had united the external talents of eloquence and knowledge with the grace of prophecy and miracles;" and in his life of St. Basil he says, that "God, not willing that man should judge of the virtue of the saints by miracles, which he seems to have reserved for the defence of his truth and of his church, rather than for the glory of his servants, did *not* grant this gift to those saints

332 (ed. Lond. 1732), where a multitude of signs and wonders are claimed for the Oriental Church.

whose virtue was without dispute the *most eminent and the most solid.* We observe this in St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and in the other great saints of the principal ages of the church, in whom we find but rarely, or *not at all*, extraordinary and miraculous actions. Their life alone was a greater miracle than any that they could have performed." (Hist. Eccl. tom. ix. p. 24.)

It is also to be observed, that God has not made any promise of miracles to his church at all times. True, miracles were promised to the disciples, but they were not promised "for ever," like the Spirit of Truth. Accordingly, M. Bouvier, now bishop of Mans, says, after Cardinal de la Luzerne, "Whether God will exhibit such divine signs of sanctity in his church perpetually, we dare not define; nor therefore do we affirm, that sanctity thus understood, is essentially a positive note of the true church."[z] This is most reasonable; and, at all events, no one can pretend that miracles were promised always to *particular* churches.

In conclusion, then, it may be said, that the question of miracles cannot, with propriety, enter into the notes of the true church. It involves too extensive inquiries into the pretensions of various communities; and after all, if the performance of signs and wonders were proved, they would not necessarily establish the *sanctity* of those who wrought them, while sanctity may exist without any such signs. God may surely employ sinners to perform great works, (as in the case of Balaam,) or permit the devil to deceive evil men through their means. Far be it from me to affirm that real miracles have not been wrought since the time of the apostles, for the confirmation of Christians, and especially for the conversion of the heathen. There is every probability, nay, certainty, that such signs have

[z] "An vero Deus divina hujusmodi signa sanctitatis in ecclesia sua perpetuo exhibere teneatur, definiri non audemus, nec ideirco adfirmamus sanctitatem, ita intellectam, essentialiter esse notam veræ ecclesiæ positivam. Sic ferme 'de la Luzerne, Dissertation sur les Eglises Catholiques et Protestantes, t. 2.' "—Bouvier, Tractatus de vera Ecclesia, p. 103.

been wrought; but we ought not, I contend, to examine them with a view to discover the true church; more especially as it does not appear, that any of those miracles which have the slightest pretension to credibility, were wrought to determine controversies of faith or discipline between the existing communities of professing Christians.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The church can only comprise perfectly holy men; for Christ gave himself for the church, "that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish" (Eph. v. 27).

Answer. The church is here spoken of, as consisting of those who alone are its essential and permanent members, and who are known to God only; but this does not infer, that there may not also be men who are only imperfectly members, but who are, together with the righteous, in the external communion of the church.

II. According to Christ's will, none but saints and the regenerate ought to be admitted into the church, therefore those who are not saints, cease to be members of it.

Answer. (1.) I deny that none but visible saints are to be admitted into the church, as I have before proved. (2.) Assuming that visible saints only are admitted, yet their sanctity alone does not make them members of the church. They must be admitted by the ministry of others; and so, in like manner, their departure from visible sanctity does not, *ipso facto*, deprive them of external church-membership, but they must be separated by others, or by a formal act of their own.

III. The reformers held the church to consist only of the elect and holy. For instance, the Confession of Augsburgh (Art. vii.)

Answer. They only meant the church considered in its permanent, internal, perfect character; for they admitted, in the Apology of the Confession, that the church comprises both righteous and sinners in her external communion.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE CHURCH.

UNIVERSALITY, of course, could not have been a characteristic of the church at its commencement, when it only existed at Jerusalem; but the testimony of Scripture and history, and general opinion, oblige us to believe, that it was afterwards to become universal, and to remain so always. It is not necessary for us to suppose a physical and absolute universality, including *all men:* this would be inconsistent with the predictions of the existence of antichristian powers. All that is here contended is, that the church was to possess *moral* universality, to obtain adherents in all the nations of the world then known, and to extend its limits in proportion as new nations and countries were discovered: and that it was never to be reduced again to a small portion of the world, though always subject to persecutions, fluctuations, and losses.

1. I argue from Scripture, that the Church was to be morally universal, or to be propagated in all nations. The prophecies relating to the kingdom of Christ all express this character: "In thy seed shall *all the nations* of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xxii. 18. xxvi. 4. xxviii. 14); "In the last days the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and *all nations* shall flow unto it" (Is. ii. 2); "Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the *face of the world* with fruit" (Is. xxvii. 6); "I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the *end of the earth*" (xlix. 6); "Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and *the uttermost parts of the earth* for thy possession" (Ps. ii. 8); "All the *ends of the world* shall remember and turn unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the nations shall

worship before thee" (Ps. xxii. 27); "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river *unto the ends of the earth*" (Ps. lxxii. 8); "His name shall endure for ever: his name shall be continued as long as the sun; and men shall be blessed in him: *all nations* shall call him blessed" (verse 17).

Our blessed Saviour himself referred to these prophecies, in his discourse with his disciples after his resurrection, saying: "Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer . . . . and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among *all nations*, beginning at Jerusalem" (Luke xxiv. 47); he also declared that his disciples should be witnesses to him "unto the *uttermost part of the earth*" (Acts i. 8), and commanded them to "go teach *all nations*," promising his presence with them "always, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20). We find accordingly, that the apostles "went forth and preached *every where*" (Mark xvi. 20). As St. Paul says, "their sound went into *all the earth*, and their words *unto the end of the world*" (Rom. x. 18); therefore, even in the lifetime of the apostles, the church was universal, and the prophecies of its diffusiveness were already fulfilled.

Now, since all these predictions were delivered without any exception or limitation as to time, we are bound to infer, that they are intended to describe the *permanent* condition of the Christian church. The character of Christianity as described by the prophets, is always *universality*. They never contemplate any failure or overthrow: they never announce the virtual extinction of Christianity at any future time, or its reduction to narrow and insignificant limits.

That the church was not to fail is naturally inferred from the promise of Christ himself: "On this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi. 18). It is also inferred from that parable, where the kingdom of God is compared to a grain of mustard-seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds

that be in the earth; but when it is sown, it groweth up, and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches; so that the fowls of the air may lodge under the shadow of it" (Mark iv. 31, 32). Such is the greatness of the church of Christ, which is represented as its proper characteristic, and therefore cannot be lost.

2. The primitive church always understood the prophecies relating to the universality of Christianity, as descriptive of its permanent condition; for we find the fathers not merely asserting the fact, that the church of Christ was really diffused throughout the whole world; but arguing, that the church of which they were members must be the true church, because it was so diffused, and that the societies of heretics which claimed to be the only true church, could not be so, from their deficiency in this essential characteristic.

Thus, St. Athanasius and the bishops of the Alexandrian patriarchate, writing to the Emperor Jovian, argue for their own profession of the true faith and the true church, from the universality of their communion, and the insignificant numbers of the Arian party.[a] Jerome, arguing against the Luciferians, says: "If Christ has not a church, or has one only in Sardinia, he has become greatly impoverished. And if Satan possesses Britain, Gaul, the East, India, the barbarous nations, the whole world, how were the trophies of the cross given to a mere corner of the world."[b] Optatus argues thus: "Thou hast said, brother Parmenianus, that the church is only amongst you . . . Therefore that it may exist with you in a part of Africa, a corner of a small region, it must not be amongst us in the other part of Africa, nor in Spain, Italy, Gaul, where you are not, . . nor among the innumerable islands and other provinces which

[a] Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. c. 3.

[b] "Si ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut si in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper factus est. Et si Britannias, Gallias, Orientem, Indorum populos, barbaras nationes, et totem semel mundum possidet Satanas; quomodo ad angulum universæ terræ crusis trophæa collata sunt."—Hier. adv. Luciferianos, tom. iv. pars 2. p. 298. ed. Ben.

can scarcely be counted. Where then is the propriety of the name of catholic, since the church is called catholic because it is reasonable, and diffused everywhere?"[c] Augustine says: "We hold the inheritance of Christ; they (the heretics) do not hold it: they do not communicate with the whole world, they do not (*i. e.* refuse to) communicate with the whole community redeemed by the blood of the Lord."[d] Augustine cites almost all the passages of Scripture adduced above,[e] in his book "de Unitate Ecclesiæ," against the Donatists, to prove that the church is essentially universal. In fine, the ancient church considered universality as one essential characteristic of the church, for the creed approved by the General Council of Nice, as the confession of faith of the whole world, professes belief in a "catholic" (or *universal*) "apostolic church."[f]

3. In fact, the universality of the church is generally admitted. The Nicene and the Apostles' Creeds are received by the Eastern church, and by the Roman churches, as well as by all the Reformation, and they both contain a profession of belief in the "holy catholic" (or *universal*) "church." Hence all these societies continually profess their belief in the universality of the church. The hymn, "Te Deum," which is also generally used by them, recognizes the same—"The holy church *throughout all the world* doth acknowledge thee."

Its catholicity is also expressly admitted by the confession of

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[c] "Eam tu, frater Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixisti . . . . Ergo ut in particula Africæ, in angulo parvæ regionis, apud vos esse possit; apud nos in alia parte Africæ non erit. In Hispaniis, in Italia, in Gallia, ubi vos non estis, non erit, &c. . . . . Et per tot innumerabiles insulas et cæteras provincias, quæ numerari vix possunt, ubi vos non estis, non erit. Ubi ergo proprietas catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit catholica, quod sit rationabilis et ubique diffusa?"—Optatus, liber ii. de schismate Donatist. p. 28. ed. Du Pin.

[d] "Tenemus hæreditatem Domini: illi eam non tenent: non communicant orbi terrarum, non communicant universitati redemtæ sanguine Domini."—Tract. iii. in Epist. Johan. p. 846. tom. iii. oper ed. Bened.

[e] Tom. ix. p. 337, &c. ed. Bened.

[f] Socrates, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. viii.

Augsburgh,[g] and the Apology of the Confession,[h] both of which were the standing formularies of the Lutherans. The Zuinglians said in their "Helvetic Confession," "there is only one church which we therefore call catholic, because it is universal, and diffused through all parts of the world, and extends to all times, being included in no particular localities or ages. Therefore we condemn the Donatists, who restricted the church to some corners of Africa; nor do we approve the Roman clergy, who vaunt of the Roman church alone as the catholic."[i] Calvin acknowledges that "the universal church is a multitude gathered out of all nations, which though divided and dispersed by distance of place, yet agreeth to the one true and divine doctrine, and is united by the bond of a common religion. That under this church particular churches, which to meet the wants of man are disposed throughout the towns, &c. are so comprehended, that each of them rightly possesses the name and authority of a church."[k] The same doctrine of the univer-

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[g] 'Cum ecclesiæ apud nos de nullo articulo fidei dissentiant ab ecclesia *catholica*."—Pars ii. Prologus.

[h] "*Catholicam* ecclesiam dicit, ne intelligamus, ecclesiam esse politiam externam *certarum* gentium, sed magis homines sparsos per *totum orbem*, qui de evangelio consentiunt, et habent eundem Christum, eundem Spiritum sanctum, et eadem sacramenta, sive habeant easdem traditiones humanas, sive dissimiles."—Apolog. Confess. iv. de Ecclesia.

[i] "Consequitur unam duntaxat esse ecclesiam: quam propterea catholicam nuncupamus, quod sit universalis, et diffundatur per omnes mundi partes, et ad omnia se tempora extendat, nullis vel locis inclusa vel temporibus. Damnamus ergo Donatistas, qui, ecclesiam in nescio quos Africæ coarctabant angulos. Nec Romanensem approbamus clerum, qui solam prope Romanam ecclesiam venditant pro Catholica."—Conf. Helvetica, cap. xvii.

[k] "Ecclesiam universalem esse collectam ex quibuscumque gentibus multitudinem, quæ intervallis locorum dissita et dispersa, in unam tamen divinæ doctrinæ veritatem consentit, et ejusdem religionis vinculo colligata est. Sub hac ita comprehendi singulas ecclesias, quæ oppidatim et vicatim pro necessitatis humanæ ratione dispositæ sunt, ut unaquæque nomen et auctoritatem ecclesiæ, jure obtineat," &c.—Calvin. Institut. iv. 1. s. 9.

sality of the church is inculcated by the Geneva Catechism,[l] the Bohemian Confession,[m] the Catechism of Heidelburgh,[n] the Declaration of Thorn,[o] &c.

Even various denominations of dissenters admit the same truth: thus the Presbyterians, in 1647, admitted that "the visible church" is "catholic" or "universal."[p] The Quaker Barclay acknowledges the church to be catholic.[q] Dr. Owen admits the same for the Independents, thus: "The end of all particular churches is the edification of the church *catholic* unto the glory of God in Christ."[r] Again: "The church that confines its duty unto the acts of its own assemblies, cuts itself off from the external communion of the church *catholic*; nor will it be safe for any man to commit the conduct of his soul to such a church."[s] And the modern dissenters, in their "Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge," also confess, that there is a catholic or universal church.[t]

Is it possible that a stronger proof can be offered for the

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[l] Catechismus Genevensis, de fide.

[m] Conf. Bohemica, art. viii.

[n] Catechesis Heidelburgensis, quæst. liv.

[o] Declarat. Thoruniensis, vii. de Ecclesia.

[p] Westminster Confession, chap. xxv. "The visible church which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel, not confined to one nation, as before under the law," &c.

[q] He acknowledges there is "one catholic church," "out of which church we freely acknowledge there can be no salvation," and that it is so because there is a "universal or catholic spirit, by which many are called from the *four corners of the earth*, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob."—Apology for the Quakers, prop. x. p. 273. It is needless to detail the strange *meaning* in which he takes these propositions.

[r] Nature of the Gospel Church, p. 414.

[s] Ibid. p. 413.

[t] "Communion with other churches, in letters recommendatory or dismissory . . . and all other expressions of regard to sister churches . . . . are a part of the communion of saints, which constitutes one of the greatest blessings of the true *catholic* church."—Essays on Ch. Polity. (on church discipline) vol. ii. p. 417.

essential universality of the church, than this consent of all ages, churches and sects?

4. The doctrine of the British churches, on this point, does not admit of any question. The creeds always used in these churches from the earliest ages, profess a belief in the church as "catholic;" and, not to speak of the hymn "Te Deum," the Litany, which was revised and corrected at the period of the Reformation, contains the following passage; "That it may please thee to rule and govern thy *holy church universal* in the right way:" and in the prayer for the Church Militant, in the office of the Holy Communion, we pray God "to inspire continually the *universal church* with a spirit of truth, unity, and concord." In another prayer we desire "the good estate of the *catholic* church." In the bidding of prayer, before sermons, we are exhorted to pray "for Christ's holy catholic church." Nothing therefore, can be more evident, than that these churches have always recognised the catholicity or universality of the church; and surely nothing could have induced them to do so, except the belief that this was an essential characteristic of the church, and that it had been generally received on the express warrant of Scripture itself. Amongst our theologians who in modern times have taught this truth, Archbishop Usher says: "The catholic church is not to be sought for in any one angle or quarter of the world, but among 'all that in every place call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord, both theirs and ours' (1 Cor. i. 2). Therefore to their Lord and ours it was said, 'Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance,' &c. (Ps. ii. 8); and to this mystical body, the catholic church, accordingly, 'I will bring thy seed from the East, and gather them from the West: I will say to the North, Give up, and to the South, Keep not back: bring my sons from far and my daughters from the ends of the earth' (Is. xliii. 5—7). Thus must we conceive of the catholic church, as of one entire body, made up by the collection and aggregation of all the faith-

ful unto the unity thereof,"[u] &c. Dr. Field says, that Bellarmine "labours in vain in proving that there is, and always hath been, a visible church, and that not consisting of some few scattered Christians, without order of ministry or use of sacraments; for all this we do most willingly yield unto;" though *some few*, as he says, may have held a different opinion.[v] Dr. Rogers speaks well of the visible catholic church.[w] Bishop Pearson admits and proves the universality of the church, as follows: "The most obvious and most general notion of this catholicism consisteth in the *diffusiveness* of the church, grounded upon the commission given to the builders of it, 'Go, teach all nations' . . . . . The church of Christ, in its primary institution, was made to be of a *diffusive* nature, to spread and extend itself from the city of Jerusalem, where it first began, to all the parts and corners of the earth . . . . This reason did the ancient fathers render why the church was called catholic; and the nature of the church is so described in the Scriptures." He afterwards says, in explanation of the creed, "I look upon this church, not like that of the Jews, limited to one people, confined to one nation, but by the *appointment* and *command* of Christ, and by the *efficacy of his assisting power*, to be disseminated *through all nations*, to be extended to *all places*, to be propagated to *all ages*."[x]

OBJECTIONS.

1. If the true church must always be universal, the Lutherans and Reformed could not have been the church of Christ, for they were never universal, and when Luther began to preach, he stood alone.

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[u] Sermon before the King on Eph. iv. 13.

[v] Field, of the Church, book i. c. i.

[w] Rogers, Discourse of the visib. and invisib. Church, part ii. c. i.

[x] Bp. Pearson on the Creed, art. ix.

Answer. These societies were not properly churches, but yet were not to be condemned as schismatically separated from the church, as I shall hereafter prove. (chap. xii.)

II. The universality of the church is only to be understood as a *successive* universality; that is, all nations were to receive the gospel successively, and not at once; so that the church of Christ might at any given time be contained in a single province.

Answer. This explanation is inconsistent with the direct and evident meaning of those glorious prophecies, which speak of Christ's having dominion over all nations, from one end of the world to the other. In this case Christianity might never have been more extended than Judaism, and the miraculous incarnation and death of Jesus Christ, and all the miracles of his disciples, would have produced no material improvement in the condition of the world generally. But, in fact, we know from Scripture and history that Christianity was, at least *once*, morally speaking, universal; therefore we must reasonably infer that *this* was the universality designed by the prophecies. I therefore cannot admit the principle of *successive* universality; though it is granted by Bellarmine, Driedo, and Melchior Canus, among the Romanists, by the schoolmen Occam, Cameracensis, and Turrecremata,[y] and supported by some of our own theologians, who too readily admitted a notion, which seemed useful for the defence of the truth against their opponents.

III. The church was not universal in the time of Arius, or of the Council of Ariminum, for Arianism generally prevailed then.

Answer. This will be noticed in part. iv., (on the Synod of Ariminum,) where it will be proved that the catholic church never failed in the time of Arianism.

IV. The church was not universal at the first when it was confined within the city of Jerusalem; therefore universality is not an essential characteristic of the true church.

Answer. Christ predicted that the church should be as a grain of mustard seed at the beginning, and should afterwards

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[y] Field, Of the Church book, i. c. 10.

greatly increase ; therefore the smallness of the church at first, is no objection to its subsequent universality.

V. The church is called catholic in the creed, because it teaches all Christian doctrines and duties, and contains all graces. Several of the fathers explain it thus.

Answer. They all assert that it is also catholic, in the ordinary sense here maintained. These are, therefore, moral and mystical interpretations of the term, which are not intended to interfere with its more direct meaning.

VI. Universality belongs to Mahomedanism, therefore it is not a peculiar characteristic of the church of Christ.

Answer. (1.) Mahomedanism does not profess to be the church of Christ, therefore if it were universal, it could not be mistaken for the church. (2.) It is inferior to Christianity in diffusion, as the latter exists wherever Mahomedanism exists, and in many other countries where it does not.

VII. If the church be admitted to be visible and universal, then it must be also admitted, with the Papists, that there is one universal visible *head* of the church.

Answer. (1.) A visible society may be governed by a plurality of rulers. It is not necessarily a *monarchy.* (2.) The mere apparent expediency of a spiritual monarchy is no proof of its actual existence, because we might infer the continuance of the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, or the infallibility of individuals on the same grounds.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE APOSTOLICITY OF THE CHURCH.

The church of Christ is, by the admission of all parties, apostolical, or derived in some manner from the apostles. I have already, in a preceding chapter, (chap. vi. sect. i.) observed on those rules by which it may be determined, whether a society, professing to be Christian, is really derived, as a society, from the apostles. It was there shown, that any society which is in fact derived from them, must be so, by spiritual propagation, or derivation, or union, not by separation from the apostles or the churches actually derived from their preaching, under the pretence of establishing a new system of supposed apostolic perfection. Derivation from the apostles, is in the former case an evident *reality*, just as much as the descent of an illustrious family from its original founder. In the latter case it is merely an assumption, in which the most essential links of the genealogy are wanting.

But there is another point of view in which the church is apostolical. The ministry of the true church originated with the apostles, and must always therefore be derived from them in some way. I shall proceed to the discussion of this question, and lead it on gradually to those conclusions, which will enable us to apply "the apostolicity of the ministry," as a test of the true church.

1.) THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CHURCH, AND MUST ALWAYS EXIST.

It is a principle of reason, no less than of Scripture, that men "cannot hear without a preacher."[a] Therefore Christ

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[a] Rom. x. 14.

himself became a preacher and minister; and at the last sent his apostles, with a commandment, to "go and teach all nations."[b] We find the Apostles not only fulfilling this office, but constituting "presbyters in every church,"[c] and making the most ample provision, that the gospel, which had been communicated to them, should be taught to others also. And since Christ had promised to be always with his apostles, and had sent them forth with the same high commission which he had received of the Father, their works were his works, their institutions his institutions. Hence Scripture tells us, that when "he ascended up on high" he "gave some, apostles; and some prophets; and some evangelists; and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of God, unto a perfect man .... that we be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but speaking *the truth* in *love*, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ."[d] This passage intimates, that the Christian ministry was instituted by Christ, for the most permanent and essential objects; the sanctification of the brethren, and their preservation in Christian *truth* and *love*, against the deceits of false and antichristian teachers. And in fine the pastors of Ephesus were, by the "Holy Ghost made overseers to feed the church of God,"[e] and "teachers" are declared to be set in the church by God, no less than apostles and prophets.[f] Hence it is clear, that a true and lawful ministry is essential to the church, and that any society in which there is no such ministry is not a church; and it is equally clear, that such a ministry must exist at all times, because it has been proved that the church was always to exist. If it be admitted that the ministry of Christ has at any time

[b] Matt. xxviii. 20. [c] Acts xiv. 23 [d] Eph. iv. 8—15.
[e] Acts xx. 28. [f] 1 Cor. xii. 28.

ceased to exist, there can be no certainty that it now exists, for the only absolute proof of its present existence is derived from the Scripture, which represents it as essential to the church, and which affords the promise of a perpetual divine aid to the apostles, and their successors in the Christian ministry. And if there has ever been a period when this ministry was extinguished, it cannot be *necessary* to the church.

The opinion of Christians in all ages, and of all sects, has always been, that the Christian ministry is essential to the church. St. Ignatius declares, that "without these there is no church."[g] St. Jerome says, that a society "which has no clergy is not a church."[h] But without further dwelling on the well-known sentiments of the primitive church, let us come to more modern times. The Lutherans, in the Confession of Augsburgh, declared, that, "in order that we might obtain this (justifying) faith, the ministry of preaching the gospel and administering the sacraments was instituted;" and they add, that "they condemn the Anabaptists and others, who think that men receive the Holy Spirit without the external word."[i] In the Apology of the Confession they said; "If order be understood of the ministry of the word, we should without difficulty have termed order a sacrament; for the ministry of the word hath the commandment of God, and hath mighty promises,"[k] &c. The "Helvetic Confession" of the Zuinglians says, that "The original institution and office of ministers is most ancient, and from God himself; not a new or

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g Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται.—Ad Trall. c. 3.

h "Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes."—Hier. adv. Lucifer.

i "Ut hanc fidem consequamur, institutum est ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta .... Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum præparationes et opera."—Conf. August. pars i. art v.

k "Si autem ordo de ministerio verbi intelligatur, non gravatim vocaverimus ordinem sacramentum. Nam ministerium verbi habet mandatum Dei, et habet magnificas promissiones." (Referring to Rom. i. 16. and Isaiah lv. 11).—Apologia Confess. August. vii. de nu. et usu Sacrament.

human appointment."[l] The apostles, they say, "ordained pastors and teachers throughout all the churches in the world, by the command of Christ; by whose successors even to the present time, he taught and ruled the church."[m] The Confession of the Hugonots says: "We believe the true church ought to be governed with that polity or discipline which our Lord Jesus Christ sanctioned; that is, there should be in it pastors," &c.[n] The Belgic Confession employs the same language, and styles the ministry "an ordinance of God."[o] The Bohemian Confession,[p] and the Tetrapolitan,[q] acknowledge its divine institution; and the Geneva Catechism affirms, that "he who despises or refuses to hear the ministers, despises Christ."[r] Calvin argues at length in proof of the necessity of the ministry in the church;[s] saying, that the church is not otherwise edified than by external preaching:"[t] he affirms, that "Christ so ordained the office of the ministry in the church, that, were it taken away, the church would perish."[u]

The dissenters of various "denominations" also allow the divine institution of the ministry. The Presbyterians, in 1647, taught that to the "Catholic visible church, Christ hath given

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[l] "Ergo ministrorum origo, institutio, et functio vetustissima et ipsius Dei; non nova aut hominum est ordinatio."—Confess. Helvet. caput xviii.

[m] Ibid.

[n] Conf. Gallicana, xxix.

[o] Conf. Belgica, xxx. xxxi.

[p] Conf. Bohemica, art. ix.

[q] Conf. Tetrapolitana, cap. xiii. The Saxon Confession, art. xii. also teaches that without the ministry the church would perish utterly.

[r] "Estne igitur necesse præesse Ecclesiis pastores? Quin etiam necesse est audire eos, et quam proponunt Christi doctrinam, ex eorum ore cum timore et reverentia excipere. Itaque qui ipsos contemnit, audireve detrectat, Christum contemnit, ac discessionem facit a societate fidelium."—Catechis. Genev. (De Verbo Dei.)

[s] Calvin. Institut. iv. c. i. sect. 5, 6.

[t] "Nobis vero quod ex Paulo citavimus tenendum est, ecclesiam *non aliter ædificari quam externa prædicatione*." (Sect. v.)

[u] "Incumbit (Satan) ad labefactandum ministerium: quod tamen sic in Ecclesia Christus ordinavit, ut illo sublato, hujus ædificatio pereat."—iv. c. i. sect. 11.

the *ministry*, oracles, and ordinances of God,"[v] where the ministry is regarded as much the work of God, as the Bible or the sacraments. The dissenting "Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge" contains on this subject some sound positions. It proposes the question, "Are there, or are there not, the means provided . . . by which, if faithfully pursued, the light of heavenly truth would not go out, would shine without eclipse upon successive generations," &c.[w] . . . . . This is explained to refer to "a *system* of means—of means to be diffusive, operative, and *permanent;* not without divine power, but yet without miraculous accompaniments or new inspiration."[x] The reply is, that the eternal happiness of mankind is mainly suspended on means; and, amongst means, *chiefly* on a *preached* gospel: 'It hath pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.'"[y] The Christian ministry is here directly referred to; and it follows that this means of grace is, by the divine institution, to be *permanent* in the church. This is exactly what I contend for, that the Christian ministry is essential to the church; and as the church can never have failed, so the ministry can never have failed. There must always have been, there must now be, a Christian ministry, such as God and Christ originally instituted.

(2.) A DIVINE VOCATION IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

In the Old Testament we read of the awful punishment of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, for usurping the priests' office;[z] and King Uzziah was smitten with leprosy for daring to imitate their example.[a] Those who undertook the prophetical office

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[v] Westminster Conf. chapter xxv. art. iii.

[w] Essays on Ch. Polity (the Church the Conservator of a Christian Ministry), vol. ii. p. 347.

[x] Ibid. 348.

[y] Ibid. 349.

[z] Numbers xvi.

[a] 2 Chron. xxvi.

without divine mission were most severely rebuked.[b] In the New Testament we observe the same principle of the necessity of a commission from God to minister in sacred things. Our Lord himself, though he had come into the world, from his eternal glory, to preach the Gospel, did not assume the office of the ministry until he was anointed with the Spirit, and miraculously commissioned by the Father: "Christ also glorified not himself to be made a high-priest" (Heb. v. 5.); but, as Isaiah says: "the Spirit of the Lord was upon him, because the Lord hath anointed him to preach good tidings" (Is. lxii. 1). The old priesthood had been unapproachable by merely human power: "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron" (Heb. v. 4). The ministry of the Gospel was far superior in dignity to that of the law: "For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory" (2 Cor. ii. 9). Hence it is to be concluded, that the more glorious office was not to be assumed by men, when the less glorious had been always conferred by God. Accordingly it is the principle of the New Testament, that the ministry of the gospel is not to be assumed by men without the authority of God: "How shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. x. 15). It was GOD that sent the apostles;[c] HE also "gave pastors and teachers,"[d] and the HOLY SPIRIT made them overseers of the church of God:[e] therefore they ran, only because they were commanded and authorized by God to run; they were HIS ministers, bearing his commission, either directly and miraculously appointed to offices in his church, or indirectly by means of those who were authorized to send labourers into the vineyard.

The sublime and awful responsibilities of a minister of Jesus Christ, would indeed have prevented the most faithful of his disciples from undertaking this office, from apprehension lest they should be led into temptation. They would have felt, with

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[b] Jeremiah xxiii. 21. 32. [c] John xx. 21. [d] Eph. iv. 11. [e] Acts xx. 28.

the apostle: "Who is sufficient for these things?" (2 Cor. ii. 16), unless the special aid and presence of the Holy Ghost had been promised to them; and still more, unless they had known themselves to be truly and rightly *called by the will of God* to so mighty an office, they would never have undertaken it.

The notion that men may undertake to be ministers of God, without being *authorized* by God, carries its own refutation along with it, at the very first view. Were all men entitled to assume this office at pleasure, the apostle would have asked in vain, "Are all apostles, are all prophets, are *all teachers?*" (1 Cor. xii. 29). He could not have added: "God is not the author of confusion but of peace, as in all the Churches of the saints" (1 Cor. xiv. 33): for if all men were entitled, on their own opinion of their fitness, to assume the office of the ministry, there could be nothing but endless confusion and disorder. The Scriptures, however, leave no doubt on the matter: such intruders are characterized by our Lord, as men "that came in their *own name*" (John v. 43); he declares that they are "thieves and robbers" (John x. 8).

This has been the general sentiment of all professing Christians: I shall reserve the testimony of the fathers for the latter part of this chapter. The Reformation, in general, condemned those who pretended to be ministers of God, without any commission. The Helvetic Confession says: "We condemn all who run of their own accord, who are not chosen, sent, nor ordained"[f] (John xxiii. 32). The same doctrine is taught by the Confession of the Hugonots,[g] and by that of the Belgian Protestants, who say, that "every one ought to take care not to intrude himself by unlawful methods, but to wait the season in which he shall be called of God, in order that he may have a testimony of his vocation, and be sure that it is of God."[h] The Bohemian Confession,[i] and the Polish Declaration,[k] concur in

[f] "Damnamus hic omnes, qui sua sponte currunt, cum non sint electi, missi, vel ordinati."—Conf. Helvetica, c. xviii.

[g] Conf. Gallicana, xxxi.

[h] Conf. Belgica, xxxi.

[i] Conf. Boh. art. ix.

[k] Declaratio Thorunicnsis, De Ordine.

the same principles. According to Calvin, "it was expressly provided that no one should assume a public office in the church without vocation (Heb. v. 4. and Jer. xvii. 16), lest restless and turbulent men should rashly intrude themselves into the teaching or government of the church. Therefore, in order that any one be deemed a true minister of the church, he must first be rightly called . . . . If so great a minister of Christ (St. Paul) does not dare to arrogate to himself the authority to be heard in the church, only that he has been ordained to this office by the Lord's commandment, and faithfully discharges what is committed to him; how great will be the impudence of any man, who, devoid of either or both these qualifications, demands this honour for himself?"[1] Owen, the independent, says: "None can or may take this office upon him, or discharge the duties of it, which are peculiarly its own, with authority, but he who is called and set apart thereunto, according to the mind of Jesus Christ" . . . . "The general force of the rule, Heb. v. 4. includes a prohibition of undertaking any office without a divine call."[m]

(3.) AN INTERNAL VOCATION IS INSUFFICIENT ALONE TO CONSTITUTE A MINISTER OF CHRIST.

There is not an instance in the sacred Scripture, of any man being sent forth as a minister of Christ, merely by an internal impulse of the Spirit, unattested either by miracles, or by an external commission from the ministers of God. The apostles were all manifestly sent by our Saviour: "As my father hath sent me, even so send I you." They were hallowed by fiery tongues on the day of Pentecost, and invariably performed miracles. The other disciples, who acted as ministers, received an external call from the apostles or their deputies, or were enabled to show miraculous proofs of their mission. In truth, this external calling or manifestation, must be absolutely essen-

[1] Calvin. Institut. iv. c. iii. sect. 10.

[m] Gospel Church, chapter iv. (The Officers of the Church) where he strongly condemns those that intrude on the sacred office.

tial to the Christian ministry, because a minister of Jesus Christ must be able to prove his mission to *others*, as well as to himself. Now an inward call is no proof to others: it may be counterfeited, it may be imaginary, it may be enthusiastic. Scripture teaches us, that there shall be many false prophets, and pretenders to inspiration; and, that they "shall *deceive* many."[n] It is obvious, that the bold and persevering assertion of an inward call, especially if accompanied by that hypocritical pretension to sanctity, which such impostors too often assume, is precisely the mode in which we might expect that people would be deceived. Nor is it to be said in reply, that miracles are only necessary in the case of a new Revelation, but not when an old Revelation is to be preached more purely than it has been. For teachers who do not profess to teach any new Revelation, may pervert, corrupt, and mutilate that which has been made; and thus may, in effect, preach "another gospel," which the holy apostle pronounces "anathema" (Gal. i. 8, 9). I do not, in any degree, doubt that the true ministers of Jesus Christ are internally "moved by the Holy Ghost" to undertake their holy office; but it is also the will of God, that they should be externally called and sent.

(4.) POPULAR ELECTION ALONE IS INSUFFICIENT TO CONSTITUTE A MINISTER OF CHRIST.

The Scripture affords no example of a popular election of ministers independently of the apostles' sanction: the seven deacons named by the people were afterwards ordained by *them*.[o] In fact, we find the apostles "ordaining elders in every church" (Acts xiv. 23), and appointing pastors to the churches of Ephesus and Crete, who were commissioned to "ordain presbyters in every city." It is perfectly uncertain whether the people had any share in these appointments. But

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[n] Matt. xxiv. 11. See also 1 John iv. 1. Acts xx. 30. 2 Pet. ii. 1, 2. Jude.

[o] Acts vi. 6.

the grand and unanswerable proof that popular election alone cannot constitute a Christian minister, is the fact confessed by the most ardent advocates for such elections, that "*No case occurs in the inspired history where it is mentioned that a church elected its pastor.*"[p] This fact is undeniable, and it is conclusive. Popular election alone cannot constitute a minister of Christ, and besides this, it cannot even be requisite to his mission; for it is not to be supposed that Scripture would omit all notice of the very *essentials* of the Christian ministry. There is, however, one more passage in Holy Scripture which demonstrates, beyond all possibility of a reply, that popular elections alone cannot constitute ministers of Christ. "The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from *the truth*, and shall be turned unto fables" (2 Tim. iv. 3, 4). This text shakes to its very foundation the claims of those who pretend to derive their mission only from popular election, because it proves that such elections may be entirely unauthorized and contrary to the will of God. I do not deny that sometimes in the primitive church, the people elected their pastors, but this custom was not universal, and the ministers of Jesus Christ always confirmed and ordained the pastors so elected. These facts however are only learned from catholic tradition, and cannot consistently be appealed to in any way by those who declare that "the Bible only" is their rule of discipline.

(5.) AN APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION OF ORDINATIONS IS ESSENTIAL TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

It has been already proved that a divine commission is of the essence of the Christian ministry, and that no man can by his own mere assumption become a minister of Christ. It has been further shown, that a merely internal vocation does not constitute a Christian minister, and that popular election affords

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[p] James' Church Member's Guide, p. 12. 2d ed.

no proof of his vocation according to the will of God. There is then only one remaining mode, in which men can receive a divine commission for the sacred office, namely, by means of ministers authorized to convey it to others.

It is evident, that if God authorized the apostles and their successors to ordain ministers, and transmit to them a divine commission, there would be a clear and intelligible mode in which this commission could be perpetuated in the church. Accordingly, Christ did so: he gave to the apostles his own mission; "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you;"[q] empowering them by these words to give to *others* the mission which by the very act of conferring it on the apostles he showed to be transmissible. Those who received from the apostles the mission of Jesus Christ, received a similar power to transmit it to others; and thus alone the ministers of Christ were constituted. In fact, we know that those whom the apostles ordained were constituted by "the Holy Ghost;"[r] they were "pastors and teachers" set "by God" in his church.[s] Therefore they[t] were evidently empowered by God to give their own divine mission to Christian ministers; and the succession of such ministers was never to fail: "Lo, I am with you (and therefore with your successors), *always, even to the end of the world.*"[u]

The ministers of Christ are, according to Scriptural example, to be sent forth by other ministers by the imposition of hands and prayer. The apostles ordained the seven deacons by prayer and laying on of hands.[v] St. Paul ordained Timothy in like manner,[w] and he commanded him to "lay hands suddenly on no man."[x] Accordingly, the universal church always considered the imposition of hands by the ministers of Christ

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[q] John xx. 21. [r] 1 Cor. xii. 28. [s] Acts xx. 28.

[t] [*i. e.* The apostles. It by no means follows that *all* to whom they give a divine mission, received at the same time a commission to *impart* that mission again to others.]

[u] Matt. xxviii. 20. [v] Acts vi. 6. [w] 2 Tim. i. 6. [x] 1 Tim. v. 22.

essential to ordination. The Œcumenical Council of Nice,[y] and the various synods of Antioch,[z] Ancyra,[a] Carthage,[b] &c. all recognize this rite, which is also acknowledged as apostolical and essential, in the Helvetic[c], the Bohemian,[d] the Polish,[e] and other confessions. And the universal practice, not only of the church, but of all sects, evinces the persuasion of all professing Christians that this mode of ordination is essential. Those very sects, some of whose members will argue that the imposition of hands by ministers of Christ is unnecessary, testify to the contrary by their conduct and rule; and the Wesleyans, whose ministers were formerly instituted by a verbal commission, have lately felt it necessary to adopt the imposition of hands. Such is the force and clearness of the apostolical tra dition.

I shall now conclude this argument. It is certain from what has been said, that the Christian ministry must always exist, and can never have failed. It is certain that the essence of this ministry consisted mainly in a divine commission, and that the ministry of the church must have always possessed it. It is equally certain that the mode by which this commission was conveyed must always be essentially the *same*. Now the apostolic mode of ordination, by which the apostles and their successors the bishops of the universal church, sent forth the ministers of Jesus Christ, by imposition of hands and prayer: this mode *alone* has *always* existed in the church. For many ages popular elections were unheard of. The apostolic mode of ordination *alone* prevails in all ages, and among all nations. It is therefore evidently the external vocation instituted by God himself. If it be not so; if it be a mode of human invention; it could never have constituted ministers of Christ, and therefore the whole church would for many ages have been without true

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[y] Canon ix. [z] Canon xvii. [a] Canon ix.

[b] IV. Conc. Carthag. (398) cap. 2, 3, 4.

[c] Confessio Helvetica, cap. xviii.

[d] Confess. Bohemica, art. ix.

[e] Declaratio Thoruniensis. (De Ordine.)

ministers, it would have been deficient in what is *essential* to the church of Christ, and therefore the catholic church must have *entirely failed:* a position which is directly and formally heretical.

The great external sign of such a continuance of ordinations in any church, is derived from the legitimate succession of its chief pastors derived from the apostles; for it is morally certain, that wherever there has been this legitimate succession, the whole body of the clergy have been lawfully commissioned.—This succession from the apostles is a certain mark of a church of Christ, unless it be clearly convicted of schism or heresy. I shall briefly notice the doctrines of the fathers on these points.

St. Irenæus says, "We can enumerate those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the churches, and their successors even to us" . . . "By the same ordination and succession the doctrine of the apostles in the church, and the proclamation of the truth, have come even unto us."[f] "Wherefore it is necessary to obey those presbyters who are in the church, those who have succession from the apostles, as we have shown, and who, with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth according to the will of the Father; but as for those who depart from the principal succession, and meet in any place, they are to be suspected, either as heretics and men of false doctrine, or as schismatics, puffed up, and pleasing themselves, or as hypocrites, impelled to such actions by avarice and vain-glory."[g]

Tertullian: "If any heresies dare to connect themselves with the apostolic age, pretending to be derived from the apostles

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[f] "Habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos."—Iren. adv. Hæres. iii. c. iii. "Hac ordinatione et successione, ea quæ est ab apostolis in ecclesia traditio, et veritatis præconatio pervenit usque ad nos."—Ibid.

[g] "Quapropter eis qui in ecclesia sunt, presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui successionem habent ab apostolis, sicut ostendimus; qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt," &c.—Adv. Hær. iv. c. 26.

because they existed in their time, we may say: Let them declare the origin of their churches: let them unfold the catalogue of their bishops, so descending by succession from the beginning, that the first bishop had as his ordainer and predecessor some one of the apostles, or of the apostolic men who remained united to the apostles."[h]

Cyprian: "Novatian is not in the church, nor can he be deemed a bishop, who, despising the evangelical and apostolical tradition, and succeeding to no one, is sprung from himself.—One not ordained in the church has no church."[i] "These" (heretics) "are they who, of their own accord, without the divine will, appoint themselves to preside over some random conventicle; who, without any lawful ordination constitute themselves pastors; who, without receiving it from any of the bishops, assume to themselves the title of bishop."[k]

Optatus: "You who pretend to claim for your own the holy church: declare the origin of your episcopal see!"[l]

Ephrem Syrus: "They are to be urged again each of them to show his age, which is the more ancient. Manes may claim the right of primogeniture, but Bardesanes was before him, &c. . . . . Let them again be distinctly asked from whom they re-

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[h] "Cæterum si quæ audent interserere se ætati apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab apostolis traditæ, quia sub apostolis fuerunt, possumus dicere: edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum: evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem."—Tertull. de Præscript. c. 32.

[i] "Novatianus in ecclesia non est, nec episcopus computari potest, qui evangelica et apostolica traditione contempta, nemini succedens, a se ipso ortus est: habere namque aut tenere ecclesiam nullo modo potest, qui ordinatus in ecclesia non est."—Epist. ad Magnum (ep. lxxvi.).

[k] "Hi sunt qui se ultro apud temerarios convenas, sine divina dispositione, præficiunt; qui se præpositos sine ulla ordinationis lege constituunt; qui nemine episcoporum dante, episcopi sibi nomen assumunt."—Cypr. de Unit. Ecclesiæ.

[l] "Vos vestræ cathedræ originem reddite, qui vobis vultis sanctam ecclesiam vindicare."—Lib. ii. cont. Parmen.

ceived the imposition of hands? And if they received it from us, and afterwards rejected it, the truth seeks nothing more.—But if they took the priest's office themselves, there is enough to refute them and cover them with shame. For then any one may be a priest if he pleases to lay hands on his own head."[m]

OBJECTIONS.

I. All Christians may celebrate the praise of God, offer to him spiritual sacrifices, and mutually comfort and exhort each other (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16; 1 Thess. iv. 18.) Therefore there is no need of any formal vocation.

Answer. These are not properly the work of the ministry, but religious and charitable exercises which are performed without authority, and cannot interfere with the office of those whom "the Holy Ghost hath made overseers over the flock to feed the church of God" (Acts xx. 28); of whom it is said, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account" (Heb. xiii. 17).

II. Those who were dispersed after the death of Stephen, (Acts viii. 4), went every where preaching the word.

Answer. (1.) They did not preach where the church already existed; therefore their preaching affords no pretext for assuming the office of the ministry in the church. (2.) It is not said that every one preached, but only in general terms, that those who were dispersed abroad did so, and we may reasonably suppose that such persons were either ministers of the church (as Philip, Acts viii. 5), or were endowed with gifts of the Spirit to prove their mission.

III. The "house of Stephanas addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints" (1 Cor. xvi. 15).

Answer. They did so with the sanction and approbation of St. Paul, and not merely from their own impulse.

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[m] Serm. xxii. adv. Hær. tom. ii. p. 487, 488. Oper. Ephr. Syri Syriace et Lat. ed. Assemani.

IV. "It is written in the prophets, and they shall all be taught of God" (John vi. 45). "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things" (1 John ii. 20). "The Spirit shall lead you unto all truth" (John xvi. 13).

Answer. (1.) These passages cannot prove the Christian ministry needless, because its divine institution is recorded in Scripture. (2.) They speak of the high spiritual privileges of Christians, but these privileges are only conferred on him who obeys God's commandments, "for he it is that loveth me"; and one of those commandments is: "Obey them that have the rule over you," &c.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

The Oriental (sometimes called the Greek) church prevails more or less in Russia, Siberia, North America, Poland, European Turkey, Servia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Greece, the Archipelago, Crete, Cyprus, the Ionian Islands, Georgia, Circassia, Mingrelia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt. The vast and numerous churches of the East are all ruled by bishops and archbishops, of whom the chief are the four Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Russian church was subject to a fifth patriarch from the latter part of the sixteenth century; but since the reign of Peter the Great, the appointment to this high office has been suspended by the emperor, who deemed its power too great, and calculated to rival that of the throne itself. In its place Peter the Great instituted the "Holy Legislative Synod," which is directed by the emperor.[a] I maintain that these various churches form a portion of the catholic church of Christ.

1. They have always existed visibly as Christian societies. No period can be assigned since the introduction of Christianity, in which vast numbers of these churches were not visibly existing. The invasions and persecutions of barbarians and Mahommedans extinguished for a time many ancient branches of the Oriental church, but their loss has been repaired continually by the conversion of infidels and the foundation of new societies; so that there has never yet been a period, in which we cannot

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[a] See Mosheim, vol. iv. sect. 3. part i. chapter 2; Consett's Present State of the Church of Russia, (1729) which contains the "Spiritual Regulation" for the Synod, composed by Theophanes, archbishop of Novogrod, and published by Peter the Great.

trace the existence of great societies of Christians in the East, from which the existing Oriental churches have been all regularly and peaceably derived by spiritual propagation. These communities all constitute the original churches of their respective districts. They did not in any case separate themselves from an older Christian society existing in those localities. Whatever may be said as to their change of doctrines, or their cessation from the communion of the Western churches, there can be no dispute that they are the original Christian societies of their own districts.

2. It is certain that the Oriental churches maintain principles which lead to unity of communion. No one disputes that they maintain the obligation of obedience on the part of the faithful to their respective pastors, and that if any one should voluntarily separate himself from the church on any pretext, he would be viewed as a schismatic by them. They regard the bishops as successors of the apostles, and esteem it necessary to communicate with and obey them. And accordingly it is evident that these churches are in fact generally united in themselves and with each other.

Nor have these churches ever separated themselves from the communion of the catholic church, because they themselves have at all times constituted a very great portion of that church, (as we shall see hereafter,) and for the same reason, they could never have been excommunicated by the catholic church. Therefore they remain in the unity of the church, and it may easily be shown, that the imputation of real schism cannot rest upon them. As for their non-communion with the Roman see, the mere fact proves nothing, for if all those who are separated *de facto* from this communion must necessarily be cut off from the true church, the Roman pontiffs must be infallible and impeccable, which Romanists themselves do not pretend. Therefore we can only determine the question by looking at the *facts* of the original division; and these will exculpate both the Oriental and the Western churches, in general, from the charge of schism.

3. The Oriental churches maintain principles which lead to unity in faith. They receive Scripture as the rule of their faith, and the apostolical traditions of the church as a guide in its interpretation.[b] These traditions they follow with the highest reverence. They acknowledge the authority of the church, and receive with perfect devotion the definitions of the œcumenical councils,[c] to which they require the assent of the clergy.[d] It is certain that they reject every heresy formerly condemned by

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[b] See the Summary of Christian Divinity, by Plato, archbishop of Moscow, published in Sclavonian, 1765, and translated by Mr. Pinkerton, in his "Present State of the Greek Church in Russia," 1814. The doctrine of this work in all matters of faith and morality appears generally unexceptionable. It only differs from ours in defending certain practices which we have judged it more wise and pious to remove, and in the verbal dispute concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost. See also the Answer of Plato to M. Dutens, (Œuvres Melées, part. 2. p. 162, &c.) commended by Methodius, archbishop of Twer, in his "Liber Historicus de reb. in prim. Eccl. Mosquæ, typis sanctissimi Synodi, 1805." Smith's book on the Greek Church is brief but useful. King's "Rites of the Greek Church" is written in a latitudinarian spirit.

[c] Nectarii Patr. Hieros. Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Ecclesiam, p. 205, &c. They acknowledge only seven œcumenical synods, of which the last was the Second Nicene under Irene in 787. See the Reply of the patriarch Jeremias to the Wittemburg Theologians, p. 56. 255; Plato's Summary of Christian Divinity; Methodius, Liber Hist. p. 173. This work of the archbishop of Twer is very creditable to the learning of the Russian clergy, and he speaks in terms of the highest commendation of our orthodox writers, Beveridge, Bingham, Ussher, Cave, Wotton, Pearson, Bull, &c.

[d] See King's Rites of the Greek Church (Consecration of Bishops). The second Synod of Nice, A. D. 787, which they reckon œcumenical through a mistake of fact, imposes on them practices with regard to the pictures of saints, which our churches found, by bitter experience, liable to the most serious abuses. Even Archbishop Plato confesses, that the honour paid to pictures "may be turned into the most abominable idolatry." (p. 230.) His doctrine, that the obeisance before them, "we do not render to the pictures themselves," but "to the persons they represent," (229) is not exactly that of the Synod of Nice, which declares that the images are *themselves* to receive an honour which *passes* to the original.

the catholic church; and if any one presumes to teach novelties, they condemn and excommunicate him.[e] In fine, the authority of the church is fully and unreservedly acknowledged and upheld among them, in opposition to the license of an unbridled private judgment. Consequently they have, both in principle and practice, unity of faith; and it does not appear that they differ, in articles of faith, from the rest of the church. The Roman churches claim them as agreeing with themselves on almost every point; and if we may judge by their published sentiments, we should conclude that the Oriental church, as a body, denies no article of the faith which we ourselves maintain. But, without entering on the particulars of their doctrine, it is fairly to be presumed orthodox on the whole; because they profess a perfect adhesion to the Scripture, the apostolical tradition, and to all the definitions of the catholic church.

4. These churches inculcate holiness by their doctrine.[f] No one pretends to accuse them of denying the necessity of sanctification. They have given birth to many of the most celebrated saints and martyrs, whom the church reverences. Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Clement, Dionysius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory Nazianzen and Nyssene, Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, Macarius, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, John of Damascus, Methodius, Nicholas, and others innumerable, were all of the Oriental churches. From them proceeded, in various ages, most holy missionaries, who converted to the Christian faith many heathen nations; as, for example, the Abyssinians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Goths, Sclavonians, Moravians, Transylvanians, Russians, &c. Hence it is evident, that the Oriental churches have shown, in all ages, many proofs of Christian sanctity; and whatever may be their actual sanctity now, when afflicted and degraded by the long-continued persecution of the infidels, it can scarcely be

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[e] Plato, ut supra, p. 101. 169.

[f] Plato, p. 205, &c. They maintain the doctrine of justification by faith, ibid. 108. See also Acta et Scripta Theolog. Witeberg. et Patr. Hieremiæ, p. 64. Witeberg, 1584.

inferior to that of the Roman churches generally. However, admitting, for the sake of argument, that it is so, this would afford no proof that the Oriental is not a branch of the Catholic church, because particular churches may differ in holiness.

5. These churches are Catholic. Since I only maintain that the Oriental churches are a part of the Catholic church, it is of course impossible, from the very terms of the proposition, to attempt any proof that they are themselves universal. These churches themselves only claim to be a part of the Catholic church; and they do not deny, that the remainder of the church exists in the West. In various documents, preserved in the *Perpétuité de la Foi*, the Oriental patriarchs and bishops style their churches: "the Holy Catholic Church of the Greeks;"[g] "our Holy Catholic Church of the East;"[h] "our Oriental Church;"[i] "the Greek Church;"[k] "the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of the East;"[l] "our Church of the East, Catholic and Apostolic."[m] They argue, that there cannot have been more than seven œcumenical synods, because the Eastern and Western churches have been divided since the last was held;[n] nor do they universally regard those of the Latin churches as heretics, as we shall see hereafter. In fine, there have been, at various times, some marks of communion between members of the Oriental church, and of the British,[o]

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g Perpétuité de la Foi touchant l'Eucharistie, tom. iii. p. 518.

h Ibid. 521. i Ibid. 522. k Ibid. 525. l Ibid. 532.

m Ibid. 562. Plato, archbishop of Moscow, seems to allow the Latin to be a part of the church (p. 101), and afterwards rather to deny it (p. 161, 162). Nectarius, patriarch of Jerusalem, in his learned and most interesting "Confutatio Imperii Papæ in Ecclesiam," (London, 1702), reckons the Latin as a *particular* church, a portion of the universal.—See pages 354. 357. 360. Nectarius lived in the 17th century. Methodius, archbishop of Twer, seems to regard the Eastern and Western churches, although divided, as parts of the catholic church.—Liber Hist. p. 79, 80.

n Bouvier, de Vera Ecclesia. De Maistre, du Pape, t. ii. p. 597.

o Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, dedicated his work on the Faith and Doctrine of the Eastern Church, to King Charles I.; and presented to him the celebrated Alexandrian manuscript. (See Smith on

and other Western churches, as I shall prove. The Oriental churches are included in the Catholic church by all our theologians, though they observe with regret certain imperfections, abuses, and errors among them, which detract from their perfection, but do not deprive them of the character of Christian churches. Bishops Jewell, Bramhall, Laud, Stillingfleet, &c. may be cited to prove this.

6. These churches are apostolical. Many of them still subsist after an uninterrupted succession of eighteen hundred years; such as the churches of Smyrna, Philadelphia, Corinth, Athens, Thessalonica, Crete, Cyprus. Many others, founded by the apostles, continued to subsist uninterruptedly, till the invasion of the Saracens in the seventh century, and revived again after their oppression had relaxed. Such are the churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and others: from these apostolical churches the whole Oriental church derives its origin and succession: for whenever new churches were founded, it was always by authority of the ancient societies previously existing. With these all the more recent churches held close communion; and thus, by the consanguinity of faith and discipline and charity, were themselves apostolical. They were also apostolical in their ministry; for it is undeniable, that they can produce a

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the Greek Church.) He also corresponded with the archbishop of Canterbury. In 1653, Dr. Basire, archdeacon of Northumberland, in the course of his travels in the East, was invited, by the Metropolitan of Achaia, to preach twice in the presence of the Greek bishops and clergy; and at Jerusalem he received from Païsius, patriarch of that see, his patriarchal seal (the regular sign of credence among them), to express his desire of communion with the church of England. (See Basire's Life and Correspondence, by Darnell, p. 116.) He was also permitted to preach frequently in the Greek churches at Constantinople; where in testimony of his doctrine, he presented to the patriarch of Jerusalem, in the presence of all the priests and people, the Catechism of the Church of England, which was also highly approved by the other Oriental patriarchs. (Ibid. p. 123, 124.) However, the communion between the British and Oriental churches, which was interrupted in the middle ages through misunderstandings, has not yet been restored.

regular uninterrupted series of bishops, and of valid ordinations in their churches, from the beginning. No one denies the validity of their ordinations.

7. Since the Oriental churches have therefore all the external signs of a part of the true church, it only remains to examine the facts of the division between them and the Western churches, and from these to determine whether schism or heresy is to be imputed to either party.

SECTION II.

ON THE DIVISION OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES.

(1.) THE EVENTS IN THE TIME OF CERULARIUS DID NOT RENDER EITHER THE EAST OR THE WEST SCHISMATICAL, SO AS TO BE CUT OFF FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

In order to establish this we must briefly review the events alluded to. Though there had been at various times, occasional schisms between the particular churches of Rome and Constantinople, yet in the middle of the eleventh century, the Eastern and Western churches held communion, and acknowledged each other as parts of the same holy catholic church. Their intercourse was interrupted in the following manner.

In 1053, Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, a man of turbulent spirit, addressed a letter to the bishop of Trani, in Apulia, to be communicated to the Roman pontiff, and the whole Western church.[p] In this letter he strongly inveighed against several of their rites and customs, and especially that of using unleavened bread in the eucharist, which, he argued, must render that sacrament invalid. At the same time he closed the churches and monasteries of the Latins at Constantinople.

[p] This epistle is found in Canisii Thesaurus Monument. Eccl. tom. iii. 281. It was to be communicated "ad ipsum reverendissimum Papam."

These unreasonable and uncharitable proceedings naturally excited indignation in the West. Pope Leo wrote to complain of them; and, the Greek emperor and Cerularius having expressed their wish for peace, he sent, in 1054, three legates to Constantinople, of whom the principal was Cardinal Humbert. A worse selection could scarcely have been made, with a view to concord and unity. Having presented to the emperor his replies to Cerularius and to Nicetas, a studite monk, (who had written against the Latin customs,) in which he bitterly retorted the charge of error on the customs of the Greeks, and threatened them with an anathema:[q] Humbert and his colleagues proceeded to visit Cerularius, whom they treated with marked rudeness, and arrogantly declared, that they had not come to discuss any of the points in dispute, but to insist on the adoption of their own rites and customs.[r] This latter charge, it is true, rests on the testimony of Cerularius, but it is rendered credible by their subsequent conduct. Supported by the emperor, who was desirous of conciliating the favour of the Roman see, and procuring its aid against the Normans, they compelled Nicetas to abjure his writings, and to anathematize "all who contradicted the faith of the Roman church."[s] They also themselves publicly excommunicated "all who contradicted the faith of the holy, Roman, apostolical see."[t] And, finally, before they left Con-

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[q] His reply to Cerularius terminates thus: "Pro quibus omnibus et aliis quos longum est scripto prosequi erroribus, nisi resipueritis et digne satisfeceritis; irrevocabile anathema hic et in futuro eritis a Deo et ab omnibus Catholicis."—Canisii Thesaurus, iii. 307. His reply to Nicetas was equally violent.—Ibid. p. 324.

[r] See the epistle of Cerularius to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, in Cotelerii Eccl. Græc. Monumenta, ii. 138, 139. He complains of their unspeakable insolence, boasting, and temerity in his presence; but what was most offensive of all, they said, *ὅτι οὐ διδαχθησόμενοι ἢ διαλεχθησόμενοι, τὰ ἐνταῦθα κατέλαβον, ἀλλὰ διδάξοντες μᾶλλον καὶ πείσοντες κρατεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰ δόγματα τούτων· καὶ ταῦτα μετ' ἐξουσίας καὶ ἀναισχυντίας ὑπερβαλλούσης.*—p. 145. He repeats the same complaint in his second letter, p. 164.

[s] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 60. s. 8.

[t] Canisii Thesaurus, iii. 328.

stantinople, they placed on the altar of St. Sophia a paper containing an excommunication of Cerularius, and his adherents, in which they made a charge of heresy on those who maintained several ancient and established customs of the Eastern church.[u] Cerularius in his turn denounced anathema against the authors and supporters of the excommunication,[v] and the Roman pontiff did not disown the act of his legates, so that the two churches of Rome and Constantinople and their adherents became mutually estranged.

From this it appears evident that the fault did not rest exclusively or peculiarly with either party. In fact, it would be difficult to determine which were more guilty of harsh and uncharitable conduct; Cerularius, in depriving the Latins of their churches, or the legates, for their arrogance and their needless and uncharitable denunciation of such customs as the marriage of the clergy, and the use of the Nicene Creed without the addition of "filioque," which had never been received in the East, and which the Roman church itself did not afterwards insist on, in its temporary reunions with the Oriental churches.

But blameable as the conduct of both these parties unquestionably was, still it does not follow that either was *absolutely separated from the catholic church;* for *neither act of excommunication* was known and approved by the majority of that

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[u] This excommunication is found in Canisii Thesaurus, iii. p. 326. It begins thus: "Sancta et Romana prima et apostolica sedes, ad quam tanquam ad caput solicitudo omnium ecclesiarum specialius pertinet," &c. and having accused Michael and his followers of numerous heresies on the most frivolous grounds, concludes as follows: "Michael abusivus patriarcha neophytus. . . . atque cum eo Leo Acridanus episcopus . . . . et omnes sequaces eorum in præfatis erroribus et præsumptionibus, sint Anathema Maranatha, cum Simonaicis, Vallesiis, Arianis, Donatistis, Nicholaitis, Severianis, Pneumatomachis, et Manichæis, et Nazarenis, et cum omnibus hæreticis, imo cum Diabolo et angelis ejus, nisi forte resipuerint. Amen. Amen. Amen."

[v] Leo Allatius, de Lib. et rebus Eccl. p. 161. gives this excommunication.

church. At most, therefore, they merely separated the particular churches of Rome and Constantinople from friendly mutual communion. Nor can it be pretended that either the Greeks or the Latins separated themselves from the majority of the church: the Roman pontiffs and those who accused the Greeks of schism, did so on another ground, "their separation from the chair of Peter."

It is not to be imagined that either the church of Rome or of Constantinople was by these acts separated from catholic unity; and still less, that the whole West or the whole East could be cut off from the Christian church by the acts of one or two passionate and prejudiced bishops. Such notions would be opposed to all reason and precedent.

(2.) THE CHURCH GENERALLY DID NOT CONSIDER EITHER PARTY EXCOMMUNICATED.

We find that long after the time of Cerularius, a certain degree of communion still subsisted between the East and West. Leo Allatius[w] has produced several proofs that the acts of Cerularius did not prevent the union of the churches; and the author of the "Perpétuité de la Foi" says, that "even in the twelfth century, the schism was not yet so formed as that all the Greeks were generally rejected by all the Latins, and all the Latins by the Greeks, and there appeared among many of them marks of ecclesiastical communion."[x]

This is proved by the following facts, which show that

(3.) THE EASTERN CHURCH DID NOT CONSIDER THE WESTERN AS HAVING CEASED TO BE A CHURCH.

In the time of Cerularius, Peter, patriarch of Antioch, in replying to a letter sent to him by a western prelate, Dominic, archbishop of Grado, expressed sentiments of Christian com-

[w] Leo Allatius, de Consens. p. 624, &c.

[x] Perpétuité de la Foi, t. i. p. 202.

munion ;[y] and he endeavoured to prevail on Cerularius to urge nothing on the Latins, whom he considered as "brethren," except the removal of the addition which they had made to the Creed.[z] In 1094, Simon, patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote an epistle to the Christians of the West, soliciting their aid against the Saracens, which Peter the Hermit brought into Europe. In 1155, Basil, archbishop of Thessalonica, in his reply to Hadrian IV. of Rome, denies that the Eastern church was guilty of schism, while he fully admits that the Western holds the Orthodox faith, and forms part of the universal church.[a] Fleury, in relating that William, archbishop of Tyre, in 1180, praised the Greek emperor Manuel, and "said that his soul was gone to heaven, and that his memory was blessed," observes, that this proves that the prelate, "Latin as he was, held the emperor to be catholic." Manuel had also communi-

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[y] "Non adeo præfracte ac scripsisti sanctissimus patriarcha Constantinopolitanus (Cerularius) vestram existimationem invadit, vosque appellat cacodoxos abscinditque a sancta catholica ecclesia: sed probe cognoscens orthodoxos esse, idemque nobiscum sentire circa solidam theologiam," &c. —Cotelerii Eccl. Græc. Monumenta, tom. ii. p. 117. According to him, the use of unleavened bread was the only material point of difference between the churches —Ibid. and p. 122.

[z] Cotelerii Eccl. Græc. Monum. ii. 154. ἀδελφοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν οὗτοι. See also p. 160, where he recommends the question of unleavened bread to be left indifferent, if the Latins will remove their interpolation from the Creed.

[a] "Quid igitur ad *nos* 'errantis ovis' similitudo sanctissime Papa? Quid imago 'amissæ drachmæ?' Non enim e sinu tuo excidisse *negamus*, et filiorum appellationem aut pastoralem curam non refugimus, ut tale convicium exprobretur. Tuto autem ac firmiter, Dei gratia, stetimus in B. Petri confessione, et quem ille confessus est et prædicavit, confitemur et prædicamus, nihil ex synodalibus S. Patrum innovantes, nec adjicientis evangelicis et apostolicis verbis ad unum apicem . . . Neque enim aliud novimus fundamentum, quam quod substructum est, eademque tecum prædicamus et docemus, ego iique omnes qui ad magnam apostolicamque sedem Constantinopolitanam pertinemus. Et *unus* qui in utrisque ecclesiis personat *sermo fidei*, idemque sacrificatur agnus . . . inter Occidentales Antistites qui sub tuum principale culmen agunt, et nos qui ab oriente sole, sublimi Constantinopolitana sede, sacerdotii accipimus splendorem."—Baronius, an. 1155.

cated with Pope Alexander, and "one cannot say that in his time the schism of the Greeks was yet formed."[b] In 1199, John Camaterus, patriarch of Constantinople, addressed the Roman pontiff as a Christian prelate, and "his beloved brother," while he wondered at his styling the Roman church "universal."[c] In 1203, Demetrius Chomaterus, archbishop of Bulgaria, in accordance with the opinion of many distinguished men of the Eastern church, condemned the decision of Theodore Balsamon, a celebrated canonist, that the Latins were to be considered as heretics; since, he says, "they have never been synodically recognized as such, nor have they been publicly cast out as heretics, but they take their meals and perform their worship along with us.[d]

(4.) THE WESTERN CHURCH DID NOT UNIVERSALLY REJECT THE EASTERN.

When the Christians of the West took Antioch from the Saracens in 1098, they restored to his see John, patriarch of

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[b] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 73. s. 32.

[c] It begins: "Innocentio sanctissimo Papæ Romano, et in Christo Domino, *dilecto fratri nostro*, Johannes, &c. . . . amorem et pacem a Domino nostro J. C." . . . He then praises Innocent for his zeal for the union of the churches, and continues: "Quod autem mihi in tuæ sanctitatis scripto non modicam superinduxit ambiguitatem, non abscondam. Nam pro miro habeo, quomodo unam et universalem *Romanorum* vocasti ecclesiam, ut quasi jam divisam in species quasdam specialissimas, et hæc, *uno* existente grege, ovilium Christi, nobis quodammodo pastoribus sub eo constitutis, pastorum principe communique doctore. Et quomodo erit quod apud vos Romanorum ecclesia *mater* ut dixisti *aliarum ecclesiarum*, et secundum quas aliquas rationes et per quas unquam causas, quæro addiscere dubitans." This title he says properly belongs to the church of Jerusalem, and he then defends the Eastern church from the charge of schism.—Epist. Innocentii III. tom. i. p. 471. edit. Baluzii.

[d] Οὐκ ἂν ἐγνώσθησαν ταῦτα συνοδικῶς, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ὡς αἱρετιῶται ἀπέβλητοι δημοσίᾳ γεγόνασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεσθίουσιν ἡμῖν καὶ συνεύχονται.—Demetr. Chomaterus, Respons. ad Constantin. Cabasilam. Leo Allatius, de Consens. lib. ii. c. 9. s. 3. Even Michael Anchialus, patriarch of Constant., though a violent op-

Antioch, and *held communion* with him for several years, until he retired to Constantinople ;[e] and yet this prelate was in full communion with the Eastern church. In the middle of the following century Peter, the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, in an epistle to St. Bernard, says, that the Greek and Latin churches at that time had not separated from mutual charity, or made any schism ;[f] and accordingly he wrote to the Greek emperor, John Comnenus, and to Constantine, patriarch of Constantinople, as members of the catholic church ; addressing the latter as "a venerable and great priest of God," with whom he holds communion by the unity of faith and charity, and whose prayers and good offices he solicits for himself and the congregation of Cluny ; offering to him in return all the spiritual benefits which they could impart.[g] It is evident then, that the Western church generally did not reject the Eastern as heretic or schismatic.

(5.) It cannot be denied, however, that the moderate and charitable sentiments manifested by some members of the Eastern and Western churches, were not universal. The patriarchs of Constantinople, and a considerable part of the Eastern church, were not merely satisfied to remain separated from the communion of the Roman and Western churches, which would have been justifiable (as I shall prove), but gradually proceeded so far as to consider them as schismatics, or

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ponent of the Roman pontiff, admitted that the Latins had never been anathematized as heretics.—Leo Allatius, ibid.

[e] Guil. Tyrensis, lib. vi. c. 23. Perpétuité de la Foi, tom. i. p. 196.

[f] "Nec apud modernos, ipsius sacrificii Christiani inter Græcos et Latinos nota varietas, charitatem lædere vel schisma aliquod unitatis gignere potuerit . . . Cum hoc ita sit, nec antiqui nec moderni, propter tam celebres et famosas usuum dissonantias, a charitate mutua desciverunt."—Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas, lib. v. epist. 16 ad S. Bernardum.

[g] Petrus Clun. lib. iv. epist. 39. ad Johan. Imperat. Constant. also epist. 40. "Venerabili et magno pontifici Dei Constantinop. patriarchæ frater P . . . . Quamvis et terræ remotio et linguarum divisio, nobis invicem et vultus invideant et verba subducant : tamen unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, una charitas, et divisa conjungere, et affectus unire, et sermones debent aliquando communicare," &c.

even heretics. Thus Theodore Balsamon, and some more violent partizans, rejected all the Latins as heretics.[h] In so doing they offended against the law of charity, yet it is certain that they were not more culpable in this respect than many of the Western churches; so that while we blame both parties, we cannot affirm that either were, strictly speaking, separated from the catholic church of Christ.

On the other hand, the patriarchs of Rome and their immediate partizans, as distinguished from the Western church, generally regarded the church of Constantinople, and all who communicated with it as schismatical, and separated from the catholic church. St. Bernard was of this opinion,[i] but it is evident, that it resulted from the exaggerated notions which he entertained on the authority of the Romish church.[k] Adrian IV. of Rome, in his letter to Basil, of Thessalonica, speaks of the English church as having separated from the unity of the church, and compares it to the lost sheep, and the lost piece of silver in the parables.[l] Innocent III.,[m]

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[h] Leo Allatius, de Consens. &c. lib. ii. c. 9. s. 3.

[i] "Ego addo et de pertinacia Græcorum qui nobiscum sunt et nobiscum non sunt, juncti fide, pace divisi: quanquam et in fide ipsa claudicaverint a semitis rectis."—Bernard. de Consid. ad Pap. Eugenium, lib. iii. c. 1.

[k] Bernardus, de Consideratione ad Pap. Eugen. lib. ii. c. 8, where he styles the Pope of Rome "Princeps episcoporum, hæres apostolorum, potestate Petrus, unctione Christus," &c. "Nec modo ovium sed et pastorum tu unus omnium pastor," &c.

[l] "Ex quo per invidiam, hostem antiquam, *Constantinopolitana sedes* a sacrosancta Romana et Apostolica (quod sine lachrymarum inundatione vix famur) Ecclesia *seipsam separavit*, et hominis inimicus proprium malitiæ venenum effudit, et *a matris obedientia liberi secesserunt* . . . . laborem multum et studium . . . B. Petri successores adhibuerunt, ut schisma de medio tolleretur, et unitati Ecclesiæ, qui se ab ea separarunt redderentur . . . . Ideoque ad introductionem liberorum in locum ecclesiæ et unitatis, *inventionemque amissæ drachmæ* properemus . . . illius exemplo edocti qui . . . seipsum exinanivit ut *ovis amissa* suo gregi restitueretur . . . Da operam, ut grex cum Ecclesia uniatur, et qui se ipsos Dominicas oves confitentur, ad gregem B. Petri revertantur, qui Domini jussu eorum curam suscepit." Baronius, Anno 1155.

[m] In his reply to John Camaterus patriarch, of Constantinople, Innocent

and the other popes were of the same sentiments, as we see not only by their epistles but by their acts. Thus, on the conquest of Syria in 1099, they installed at Jerusalem a Latin patriarch, under the obedience of the pope of Rome.[n] The same was soon done at Antioch; and the see of Rome regulated all the affairs of the Eastern churches, not recognizing any of the legitimate bishops who were in communion with the see of Constantinople. When the Latins seized Constantinople in 1204, they expelled the Greek clergy, whom they violently persecuted, to induce them to obey the Roman church;[o] and a Latin patriarch and clergy were immediately installed.[p] They pursued the same course throughout all Greece, and everywhere treated the established clergy as schismatics.[q] When Cyprus came into possession of the

extols the Roman primacy as of divine institution, and says, that he who will not have the successor of Peter for his pastor, is to be considered alienated from the Lord's flock—that the Roman, being by divine appointment the head and mother of all churches, no diversity of rites or doctrines ought to prevent them from obeying the pope devotedly:—that, however, he means to summon a general synod, and if the patriarch will come to it, as a member to its *head*, and return as a daughter to her *mother*, and be ready to pay due reverence and *obedience* to the Roman church, he will receive him as a brother, &c.—Innocent Epist. 209. tom. ii. p. 472, &c.

[n] Paschal ii. Epist. 18, 19.

[o] See Georgius Acropolita, cited by Allatius, de Consensu, lib. 2. c. 13. Du Pin, Biblioth. tom. x. p. 88.

[p] Innocent III. not content with confirming the election of Morosini, the first Latin patriarch, pretended to *elect*, *confirm*, and *ordain* him himself; and exacted an oath of fidelity and obedience in return for the pall. He also empowered him to confer the pall on the archbishops subject to him, and exact from these also a promise of *obedience to the pope*, and enjoined his clergy and people to pay him due and devoted obedience, *saving* in all things the authority, reverence and honour of the Roman see.—Gesta Innocentii Epist. i. 60, 61. edit. Baluzii. He had made regulations for the Eastern patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem equally subversive of their liberty, requiring every patriarch to take an oath to obey the pope, and that he shall humbly defer to *appeals* to Rome. Thus were the schismatic Latin patriarchs enslaved.

[q] An anonymous Greek writer, cited by Leo Allatius, de Consensu, lib.

Latins, they expelled and cruelly persecuted all the bishops and clergy of the Eastern church, and crowded the island with Latin clergy.[r] The Roman pontiffs approved and urged these proceedings as the Eastern church was, in their opinion, schismatical and rebellious, and separated from the divinely-appointed centre of unity. This leads me to the following conclusion.

(6.) THE EASTERN CHURCHES WERE JUSTIFIABLE IN REMAINING SEPARATED FROM THE EXTERNAL COMMUNION OF THE WEST.

The claims of the Roman pontiffs were in those ages so extravagant, and their actual powers so vast, that the Eastern church was necessarily condemned by them as schismatic, even while it merely sustained its liberties according to immemorial custom confirmed by the decrees of general synods. Within twenty years after the excommunication of Cerularius, the celebrated Hildebrand filled the see of Rome.

That spiritual power which enabled him to create and depose emperors and kings, and exact their homage as tributaries and subjects of the Roman see, was exercised to such a degree in the subversion of all ecclesiastical liberties, that even Romish historians admit that he extended his spiritual sovereignty beyond its just bounds, and almost annihilated the whole power of bishops, and the liberties of the church.[s] The Roman church from thenceforward claimed implicit submission from all others.[t] All patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops were required to take oaths of obedience to the pontiff, who alone

2. c. 13, complains that the Latins ejected the orthodox prelates wherever they could.

[r] The same writer mentioned in the last note says, that when the Greek monks of Cyprus refused submission, the Latins tied them on wild horses to be dashed to pieces, or threw them into the flames. Allatius by no means disapproves of such conduct.

[s] Du Pin, History of the Church, vol. iii. century x. ch. 10.

[t] "Subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ, declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse denecessitate salutis." Bonifacius VIII. in extravagant. De Majoritate et Obedientia, cap. Unam Sanctam.

was considered invested with the plenitude of spiritual power, which he imparted in different degrees to all other prelates, who were to be regarded as merely his assistants. An unlimited right of appeal to the Roman see was insisted on. The confirmation, ordination, and even the nomination of bishops, was also claimed and to a great extent, successfully. The decision of the Roman church in matters of faith was held infallible. The pope was considered invested with an authority supreme, and unlimited by any canons of general councils or by any customs or laws of the church.[u] Hence it was assumed as a matter of course, that all who did not receive the Roman faith were heretics, and all who did not *obey* the Roman see, were schismatics; and accordingly, we find in a series of negotiations between the Greek emperors and the pontiffs, for the reunion of the churches, that the first and most *essential condition* required by the latter was uniformly, "entire submission and obedience to the Roman see."

Of this there are innumerable proofs. In 1170, the emperor Manuel Comnenus proposed to Alexander III. to acknowledge the primacy of the Roman see, if he would crown him emperor of the East.[v] Michael Anchialus who was at this time patriarch of Constantinople says, that the papal legates who came to Constantinople on the occasion, required nothing else from the Greek church, but an acknowledgment of the primacy of the Roman see, the *right of appeals*, and honourable mention in the diptychs.[w] The emperor Alexis was only restored to his throne by the Franks, on condition of reducing the Greeks under the obedience of the Roman see.[x] Innocent III. wrote to the Latin

[u] See Fleury, Discours iv. sur l'Histoire Ecclésiastique.

[v] See Du Pin, t. ix. p. 128. 204. Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 71. s. 35.

[w] See the Dialogue of Anchialus with the emperor, dissuading him from the proposed union. when the papal delegates came τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ζητοῦντες τὴν ἕνωσιν, καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερόν τι ἀπὸ τῶν Γραικῶν ἀπαιτοῦντες, ἢ παραχορῆσαι τῷ πάπᾳ τῶν πρωτείων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλήτου, δεῦναι δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνον. — Leo Allatius, de Consens. lib. 2. c. 12.

[x] Fleury, lib. 75. s. 52.

bishops at Constantinople, to urge Baldwin, the Latin emperor, to reduce the Greeks under the *obedience* of the holy see.[y] His legate at Constantinople, with the aid of the civil power, persecuted the Greeks to submit to Rome. The unfortunate clergy and monks of the Eastern church, were left no alternative, but either to *acknowledge the pope as head of all the bishops*, or to suffer *death*.[z] Alexander IV. sent the bishop of Orvieto to the emperor Theodore Lascaris, with "the articles *of submission to the Holy See*," granted by the Greek emperor in the time of Innocent III.[a] The duke of Moscovy in 1246, seeking the title of king from the pontiff, promised on that condition to submit his subjects to the Roman church.[b] In 1277 or 8, the pope sent legates to engage the emperor Michael Paleologus to cause the acknowledgment of papal primacy, the abjuration of schism, and a promise *to obey the Holy See*, to be signed by the patriarch of Constantinople and all the Eastern bishops. These legates were directed to state, that the Romans were *surprised* that the patriarch and other bishops had not sought to be *confirmed in their sees by the pontiff*.[c] The emperor constrained many of the Greeks to acknowledge the pope, but notwithstanding this, he was excommunicated by Martin IV. for not obeying the orders of his predecessor,[d] and Père Le Quien confesses that the division in this case was caused by the pontiff.[e] In 1369, the emperor John Palæologus came to Italy, to solicit succour against the Turks; when he was compelled, as a preliminary,

[y] Baronius, ad an. 1204.

[z] Georgius Acropolita, cited by Allatius, de Consensu, lib. 2. c. 13.

[a] Du Pin, Biblioth. x. 89. [b] Fleury, Hist. liv. 92. s. 60.

[c] Du Pin, Biblioth. x. 91. [d] Ibid.

[e] "I must say with pain, that the union begun in the second synod of Lyons under Michael Palæologus and Pope Gregory X. would perhaps have been permanent, had not certain of the points agreed on, been derogated from, in the time of Nicholas III. at the instigation of Charles king of Sicily, and others." The Greeks were in short commanded to add the *filioque* to their creed, contrary to the synod of Lyons, "which so exasperated their minds against the Romans, that no way was left open to reconcile them to us."—Le Quien, Oriens Christ. tom. i. p. 157.

to sign a confession of faith, asserting, among other things, "the primacy of the Roman over the whole catholic church, given with the plenitude of power by Jesus Christ to St. Peter, of whom the Roman pontiff is the successor, *to whom recourse should be had in all causes which concern the church, to whom all churches and all bishops owe obedience and submission*, &c."[f]

The Roman pontiffs therefore required from the Eastern church as the terms of communion, submission, and obedience to the Roman see, as possessed by divine right of the primacy of jurisdiction over the universal church. Had the Eastern church assented to this, their liberties would have been extinguished. Their patriarchs and bishops would have been bound by oath to obey the papal laws. The discipline of their churches would have been subverted by appeals to Rome. Their most established customs, even those supported by the decrees of general councils, would have been annulled at the nod of pontiffs who claimed unlimited and irresistible power. In fine, the Eastern church would soon have been enslaved still more than the West, because the emperors were always ready to sacrifice the liberties of their church to *any* extent which was necessary to gain the aid of the Roman pontiff, at that time the most powerful ruler of the West. It would have been any thing but laudable in the Eastern church to have accepted the communion of the Roman see under such conditions. They would have inflicted a lasting injury on the church of Christ by doing so. They would have stimulated a spirit of aggression and usurpation still more. They could not conscientiously yield at the demand of the papal authority, which they and the church universal in every age, deemed inferior to that of general councils, those rights and liberties which general councils, approved by the universal church, had cofirmed to them. In this respect, therefore, they are entirely free from blame, and consequently, even if any one maintains communion with the Roman see as essential, generally

[f] Du Pin. xi. 95.

speaking; yet he must admit that these churches, being excluded from the external signs of that communion without their own fault, were not really, but only apparently, separated from the church.[g]

The sentiments and mode of argument common in those ages, are exemplified in the conference at Constantinople, between Anselm, bishop of Harvelburg in Saxony (ambassador from the emperor Lothaire), and Nechites, archbishop of Nicomedia. On the primacy of the Roman church Nechites said, "We do not refuse her the first rank among her sisters the patriarchal churches, and we acknowledge that she presides in a general council; but she, separated from us by her pride, when, exceeding her power, she divided the empire, and the churches of the East and West. When she celebrates a council of Western bishops without us, they ought indeed to receive and observe the decrees made by their own advice and consent; but, as for us, though not divided from the Roman church in faith, how could we receive its decrees made without our knowledge? For if the pope pretends to send us his orders, fulminating from his lofty throne; to judge and dispose of us and our churches without our advice, at his own discretion and according to his good pleasure; what fraternity or what paternity is there in that? We should only be slaves, not children of the church. . . . . The Roman church alone would enjoy liberty, and give laws to all others, without being subject to any herself. . . . We do not find in any creed that we are bound to confess the *Roman* church in particular, but one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church. This is what I say of the Roman church, which I *revere* with you, but I do not with you believe it a duty to follow her necessarily in every thing, nor that we ought to relinquish our rites, to receive her

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g Even the Romanist Milner says, "Nor is the vindication of the rights of an ancient church, at any time, a denial of the pope's general supremacy."—End of Controversy, Prefatory Address, p. xii. M. Trevern, bishop of Strasburg, in his Discussion Amicale (t. i. p. 231.), regards the exaggerated opinions of the Ultramontanes on the papal power, as the principal obstacle to the reunion of the Eastern and Western churches.

usage in the sacraments, without examining it by reason or the Scriptures," &c. The Greek prelate altogether argued in a very rational and convincing manner, but the Latin "interrupted this discourse, *not being able to endure*, he said, that the Greek archbishop should break out so against the Roman church." He could offer no reply, however, except to *assure* him that the most perfect reliance might be reposed in the religion, sincerity, equity, goodness, &c. of the Roman church.[h]

The Eastern churches then were perfectly justified in refusing to accept the proffered communion of the Roman see, and of the churches which it swayed in the West; because the only terms on which that communion could be obtained, were unreasonable and subversive of their ecclesiastical rights and liberties, which had descended from the remotest ages. The Western churches were under the dominion of the Roman pontiff, partly from an exaggerated reverence for the apostolical see, partly from fear of its power; therefore it was impossible for them to renew their communion with the Eastern church; and though not free from blame, yet their condition exempts them from the charge of formal schism.

(7.) THE EASTERN CHURCHES ARE FREE FROM HERESY.

It would have been absurd in the Western churches to have accused the Greeks of heresy, after the division in the time of Cerularius, for they taught no doctrines which they had not taught for ages before, when the East and West were in full communion. They had uniformly objected to the addition made to the Nicene Creed by the Western churches, and they had not on this account been deemed heretics. Yet this was the only point relating to faith which was in controversy between the East and West, as we learn from St. Anselm,[i] from Gregory VII. of Rome,[k] and from his successor Innocent III.

[h] Fleury, Hist. liv. 69. sect. 42. This conference took place in 1137.

[i] Perpétuité de la Foi, t. i. 176.

[k] Ibid. Baronius, ad an. 1074. n. 54.

The latter speaks twice of the Procession of the Holy Ghost, as the only point of difference between the churches :[1] but this difference had been *tolerated* for at least two centuries before the time of Cerularius, and the reason of this was, because the difference was rather verbal than real. That it was so, is maintained by the Master of the Sentences, by Thomas Aquinas, Bandinus, Bonaventure, Scotus, Grosteste, among the scholastics, and in more modern times by Bellarmine, Clichtovæus, Tolletus, Azorius, Fricius, Thomas à Jesu of the Roman communion, and by Field, Laud, and other Anglo-catholic theologians.[m] Therefore both the Eastern and the Western churches are free from heresy in the question of the Procession.

It may be objected, that the Eastern churches are heretical, since they have not received the definitions of faith concerning the papal primacy, purgatory, &c. made in the several synods of Lyons, Florence, &c. : but, as I shall elsewhere prove (in Part IV.), these synods did not possess sufficient authority to make absolutely binding decrees in controversies of faith ; and if the Eastern churches were a part of the catholic church at all, their consent was absolutely necessary to give validity to those synods ; for the Western churches were not evidently greater and more numerous than the Eastern, and therefore their acceptance of the above synods was not a sufficient proof of the approbation of the *majority* of the catholic church. This position is of so much importance that it deserves a more particular notice.

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[1] Innocentii III. Epist. lib. vii. 154. See also Raynaldus, an. 1205. n. 10.

[m] See Field, Of the Church, p. 50, &c. Laud, Conference, s. 9.

(8.) THERE IS NO REASON TO SUPPOSE THAT THE WESTERN CHURCH WAS GREATER THAN THE EASTERN, AT THE PERIOD OF THE SEPARATION, OR THAT THE NUMBER OF ITS BISHOPS EXCEEDED THOSE OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.[n]

The ancient churches of the countries which were at this time divided between the Eastern and Western church, were about equally numerous on each side.

According to the "Notitia," compiled in the time of the patriarch Photius, and the emperor Leo Sapiens, about A.D. 891, compared with other accounts collected by Bingham, the Asiatic bishoprics under the patriarchate of Constantinople, including the province of Isauria, taken from the patriarchate of Antioch, were in number 432; the European bishoprics in Illyricum, Dacia, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, &c. were 160; those under the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem were 240; under the patriarch of Alexandria, 108; in Cyprus, 15; making a total of 955, besides the dioceses in Armenia, Assyria, Chaldea, and other dominions of the Persians, in which alone twenty-four bishops suffered martyrdom about the same time; and among the Homerites under the archbishop of Tephra, the Indians and the Saracens, who had probably a bishop in each tribe. It will not be unreasonable to calculate, that there might be seventy bishops in these different barbarous nations beyond the Roman empire; so that we may state the whole number of the Eastern dioceses at upwards of 1020. Let us now turn to the Western church. In Africa there were 466 bishoprics, in the time of St. Augustine; in Italy, Sicily, and the adjoining isles, 293; in Spain, 76; in Gaul and Germany,

[n] [One of Mr. Palmer's critics has seemed disposed to lay stress on this paragraph, as evincing the insufficiency of his mode of procedure for arriving at a satisfactory conclusion as to the claims of a church or churches. But whatever may be thought of his arithmetical argument, it is merely *ex abundantia*. The catholicity of the Oriental churches has been even more than sufficiently sustained without it.]

to the Rhine, 122; in Britain and Ireland, perhaps nearly 70; making also a total of upwards of 1020 sees. Such was the ancient state of the Eastern and Western churches, as nearly as possible equal in numbers. In fact, it is impossible to determine which was the more numerous or great.

But it will be alleged, that many of these ancient Eastern bishopries had been lost before the eleventh century, by the invasions of the Saracens, and by the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies. It is true, that great losses had been sustained from these causes, but it is quite uncertain whether the Western church had not suffered equally.

Africa, with its 466 churches, had disappeared from Christianity. Spain, Sicily, Corsica, Sardinia, were occupied by the Saracens. In Italy itself, the depopulation was so great, from the inroads of barbarians and infidels, that not nearly one-half of the bishopries remained in those parts which had been most populous. It is uncertain what losses the Eastern church may have sustained by this time, but it is scarcely probable that they were greater than those of the West.

It is certain that Christianity long continued to maintain itself in the East, under the Saracens. Le Quien, in his "Oriens Christianus," mentions the names of many bishopries, as occurring occasionally in the history of the times, and doubtless others which he has not noticed may yet be disclosed by further researches, while many may remain hid in obscurity.

But perhaps it may be said, that the new conversions of the barbarous nations of the West must be considered to have given the Western churches the superiority in number. The Saxons, Germans, Poles, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, had certainly now been added to the Western church, though Christianity was still very imperfectly settled in some of these nations.— But if the Western church had made converts, the Eastern was not less successful. The Greeks had converted, or received into their communion, the Bulgarians, Sclavonians, Aretani, Servians, Gazarians, Mœsians, Bohemians, Moravians, Hungarians, Transylvanians, Moldavians, Wallachians, and (what alone was

equal to all the conversions of the West,) the Russians. There is therefore no probability that the Eastern church, in the middle of the eleventh century, and even long afterwards, fell short of the Western, either in the number of its bishops, the extent of its jurisdiction, or the number and variety of the nations it embraced. It is impossible to determine precisely the number of bishops on each side; but there is neither proof nor presumption, that the *majority* of the church took part with the Roman pontiff against the Greeks; and it is impossible to affirm, with any certainty, that the Western churches were greater than the Eastern, up to the period of the Reformation.

OBJECTIONS OF ROMANISTS.

I. The Greeks are proved schismatics, by the simple fact that they are not in communion with the Roman see; for this communion is absolutely essential by the institution of Jesus Christ.

Answer. (1.) I deny that communion with the Roman see, more than any other, is absolutely required by Christ, as I shall prove elsewhere. (2.) Romanists cannot maintain it to be essential, because they do not admit the pontiff to be absolute and infallible, in all matters ecclesiastical and spiritual; but if communion with him is absolutely necessary, he must be infallible, and free from the possibility of fault.

II. The Eastern church has not unity of doctrine, because (1.) Methodius, archbishop of Twer (1805), in a Latin work, edited by authority of the holy synod, testifies that many of the Russian clergy incline to the Calvinistic discipline; and calls Calvin a great man, praises his books, and cites them in testimony of the faith of the Muscovites. (See D. de Maistre, Du Pape, t. ii. p. 561.) (2.) The Greek church has also changed her doctrines in many points; thus, formerly, she admitted the primacy of the pontiff, and believed the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Son, but now rejects these doctrines. (Bouvier.)

Answer. (1.) In the place cited (Methodius, p. 168), the archbishop probably only refers to the opinions of the dissenters from the Russian church; but admitting that he alludes to members of that church, I ask whether there are not also clergy of the Roman churches who are inclined to Calvinism, or Jansenism, which is the same thing? Methodius indeed calls Calvin a great man, but he blames him for "daring to administer sacred things" without ordination. The truth is, that Calvin was a man of great ability and no inconsiderable learning; and Romanists themselves are exceedingly glad to cite him in proof of their doctrines, whenever they can. (2.) The Eastern church has not varied on the primacy; for she does not deny that the pontiff might fairly be considered the first bishop, according to the customs and synods of the church; but she has never admitted that this primacy is *divino jure.* The Eastern church does not substantially differ from the West, on the procession, as we have seen.

III. The Eastern church has not unity of ministry; for the four patriarchs are independent of each other, and the Russian church of all; therefore they do not constitute one fold, under one shepherd. (Bouvier.)

Answer. There is but one Head of the church according to divine appointment, who is invisible, but who administers the affairs of his church by the body of pastors who succeed the apostles. It will elsewhere be proved that there is no visible head of the whole church, of divine or human appointment.

IV. They have not unity of jurisdiction; for they have no supreme and infallible authority, the patriarchs being independent; and a general council cannot be convened or enforced.—(Bouvier.)

Answer. They are guided by the ancient decisions, laws, canons, and customs of the church, which each bishop administers; and each patriarch takes cognizance of all causes in his patriarchate. The primitive church directed all causes to be terminated in provincial synods; and it could scarcely ever be

necessary to convene general synods, or seek the judgment of the whole church in questions of discipline.

V. The Greeks probably have not sanctity, because this sanctity is chiefly to be proved by miracles; but the Greeks cannot prove such, or at least not more numerous than in the Latin church.

Answer. (1.) The Greeks claim miracles with as much apparent reason as the Romanists.[o] (2.) If they had none, they might still be a part of the catholic church; because no particular portion of the church is promised miracles, or bound to show them.

VI. Its founders were not holy, that is Photius and Cerularius; for their immoderate ambition in assuming the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, led to the separation.

Answer. (1.) Photius and Cerularius did not found the Eastern church. (2.) Bingham proves that the title of Œcumenical Patriarch was given to the Patriarch of Constantinople by Justinian, more than three hundred years before the time of Photius, and five hundred before that of Cerularius.[p] (3.) The separation is attributable as much to the Roman patriarch's ambition, as to that of the patriarch of Constantinople.

VII. The Eastern church has not produced such eminent saints as the Western church.

Answer. All the greatest saints of antiquity were of the Eastern church; as Ignatius, Polycarp, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssene, Cyril, and others too numerous to mention. The missionaries of the Eastern Church converted to the faith many heathen nations; as the Russians, Bohemians, Poles, Moravians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Bulgarians, &c. &c.; and, according to modern historians, many

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[o] See Nectarii Hierosol. Confutatio Imperii Papæ (p. 306, 307. 321—332), where a multitude of miracles are claimed for the Oriental churches.

[p] Le Quien also, in his Oriens Christianus, tom. i. p. 67, shows that the patriarchs of Constantinople were styled Œcumenical Patriarchs, in the reign of Justin, 518, and in 536, as well as by Justinian.

examples of virtue and piety are to be found among them. Their monastic institute is more strict than that of the Latins, and has not degenerated into the luxury and immorality which is found in many of the Latin convents.[q]

VIII. It is not universal, having no societies in Africa or America. (Bouvier.)

Answer. There are churches in communion with the Eastern churches in North America and Egypt; but I do not pretend that the Eastern churches *alone* are churches of Christ, therefore they do not require universality.

IX. The Greek church is not apostolical, for she bears manifest indications of change; *e.g.* she was formerly for many ages, united and subject to the Roman church, but afterwards separated from her: then the union of the churches having been twice completed in the synods of Lyons and Florence, the Greeks twice departed from that union.

Answer (1.) It is denied that the Greek church was subject to the Roman jurisdiction at any time. (2.) The separation was as much the fault of the Roman as of the Greek church. (3.) The Separation of the Greeks, after the synod of Lyons, was caused, as Père le Quien says (Oriens Christ. tom. i. p. 157), by the unreasonable conduct of the Roman pontiff, in requiring conditions which the synod of Lyons had not required. (4.) The Eastern churches judged the terms of reconciliation, conceded by some of their bishops, who attended the synod of Florence, to be unreasonable and improper; and they were not bound by the decrees of that synod in any respect, as it was not truly œcumenical.

OTHER OBJECTIONS.

X. The Eastern churches practice the invocation of saints, but this is contrary to Scripture; therefore they cannot form part of Christ's church.

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[q] See Smith on the Gk. Church.

Answer. Though we found long ago, by experience, that this custom leads to the grossest superstition among the unlearned; yet the practice of invoking the saints to *pray* for us *to God*, is rather superfluous, and *tending* to idolatry, than actually idolatrous (strictly speaking); and therefore cannot exclude the Eastern churches from the catholic community. It is not directly and formally prohibited by Scripture, and the practice is of such antiquity in their churches, that we cannot absolutely condemn the Eastern catholics for supposing that it is allowable. Besides this, our theologians, Hooker, Bramhall, Andrewes, &c. allow the Roman to be a true church, though they well knew that this invocation is practiced there.

XI. They pay a relative honour or worship to pictures, which is idolatrous.

Answer. I grant that it approaches toward idolatry, and in some instances doubtless must become actually idolatrous, because the ignorant cannot distinguish between the 'latria' due only to the divine nature, and the inferior degree of honour, which the second synod of Nice attributes to images, and which is supposed to pass to the original. But still as they maintain that divine worship is only due to God, and an inferior honour to the cross and to images, they cannot be charged with formal idolatry, in principle or universally; and therefore, while with the whole Western church, from the time of Charlemagne, and with the synod of Frankfort, we reject all worship of images whatsoever, there is no reason why we should not also, as they did, admit the Eastern church to be a part of the catholic community. We must also consider, that the Orientals imagine through a mistake in the question of fact, that the universal church enjoined the veneration of pictures in the second synod of Nice, which I shall prove hereafter not to have been truly œcumenical, nor of any binding authority. But their mistake is founded on arguments of no inconsiderable weight.

XII. They maintain the doctrine of transubstantiation in the eucharist, and therefore cannot be a part of the Christian church.

Answer. (1.) Admitting that they use the term transubstantiation, and that many of them receive the doctrine in the Romish sense, it is not certain that all do. Archbishop Plato says: "Ecclesia Catholica Orientalis, et Græco-Russica, admittit quidem vocem Transubstantiatio, Græce μετουσίωσις; non physicam illam transubstantiationem et carnalem, sed sacramentalem et mysticam; eodemque sensu hanc vocem Transubstantiatio accipit, quam quo antiquissimi Ecclesiæ Græcæ patres has voces μεταλλαγὴ, μετάθεσις, μεταστοιχείωσις accipiebant."[r] It would seem as if the term transubstantiation was employed by him merely to signify a real change, and a real presence, not to define its mode. Methodius, archbishop of Twer, uses language with reference to the eucharist, inconsistent with the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, which denies the eucharist to be bread. He says the disciples "comederant *panem* et biberant *vinum*, Christo utrumque consecrante et præbente; idque ea lege, ut primum, hunc cibum et potum sumentes, se sumere corpus et sanguinem Domini crederent, deinde ut hoc in commemorationem sive gratam memoriam Domini, facerent."[s] (2.) The Romish doctrine of transubstantiation is an error, but it is not an error of such a sort as, in the judgment of our theologians, ought to prevent communion. Bishop Burnet says: "We think that neither consubstantiation nor transubstantiation, however ill-grounded soever we take them to be, ought to dissolve the union or communion of churches."[t] Archbishop Bramhall places the doctrine of

[r] See the answer of Plato, Archbishop of Moscow, to M. Dutens, on the doctrines of the Oriental church.—Dutens, Œuvres Melées, part ii. p. 171. ed. 1797. This answer is referred to as of high authority by Methodius, Archbishop of Twer, in the preface to his "Liber Historicus de rebus in Primitiva Ecclesia."

[s] Methodii Liber Histor. p. 207.

[t] Burnet on the xxviiith article, near the end. The Lutherans' doctrine of Consubstantiation, and the *ubiquity* of Christ's body, is quite as much an error as the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation, yet they are not usually accounted heretics.

transubstantiation among "the *opinions* of the schools, not among the articles of our faith."[u] And besides this our theologians generally, as Hooker, Andrewes, Bramhall, &c. acknowledge the Roman to be a part of the true church, though it is manifest that the doctrine of transubstantiation is held there.

[u] Bramhall, Answer to Militière, p. 1.

CHAPTER X.

ON THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

The catholic and apostolical churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland, are the parent stock from whence many flourishing churches of Christ have been derived in the United States, the Islands, and other parts of North America; in Hindostan, Ceylon, Australia, and other parts of the East; and even in Africa, congregations and pastors are to be found, who have derived their Christianity and their authority from our churches. I propose to show in this chapter, that the British churches form a portion of the catholic church of Christ; and that every individual within their district is bound to unite himself to them, as being exclusively and solely the way of salvation established by divine authority amongst us. This will be chiefly proved by applying all the notes of the true church to our part of it, and showing that in every particular they entirely accord with it.

I. *The churches of Britain and Ireland have been visible societies from the most remote antiquity.*—We read of the existence of Christian churches in Britain, in the writings of Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, and Hilary.[a] Theodoret attributes their foundation to the apostles;[b] but, however this may be, it is at least certain, that they were, even from the second century, recognized as a portion of the great Christian community, by all churches. In the year 314, the bishops of London, York, and Lincoln, sat as representatives of the British

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[a] Tertullian contr. Judæos, c. 7. Origen. in Ezech. hom. iv. in Luc. c. 1. hom. vi. Athan. Apologia. Hist. Arian. ad monachos. Hilarius Pictav. de Synodis. See also Stillingfleet's Antiquities of the British Churches, Usserii Brit. Eccl. Antiquitates.

[b] Theodoret, tom. iv. Serm. ix. p. 610.

churches in the synod of Arles, convened by the emperor Constantine from all the Western churches, to take cognizance of the Donatist controversy.[c] In the year 359, the British bishops were present at the synod of Ariminum, where bishops from all parts of the West were assembled.[d] In the following century the British churches still continued, and they were aided in their efforts to repress the Pelagian heresy, by Germanus and Lupus, bishops of Gaul, who were sent for that purpose by the Gallican synod, and perhaps with the authority of Cœlestinus, bishop of Rome.[e] About the same time (432), the Irish churches were founded by Patrick, who was consecrated bishop by Cœlestinus ;[f] and these churches were acknowledged immediately, by by all the Christian world, to form part of the catholic church. The British churches were afterwards subject to severe persecution and depression, in consequence of the invasion and subjugation of England by the heathen Saxons. Christianity for a time flourished only in the Western parts of Britain ; but it still continued in some degree visible even among the heathen invaders.[g] In the following century, the venerable Augustine was sent by Gregory the great, bishop of Rome, to convert the Anglo-Saxons, which the British churches had been unable to effect ; and by his exertions, several churches were either founded or

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[c] Sirmond. Concilia Gallic. tom. i. p. 9.

[d] Sulpicius Severus, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii.

[e] Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 17. Prosper, Chronicon. ann. 429. Stillingfleet argues, and apparently with reason, that these bishops were sent by the Gallican Synod only. Antiq. p. 192.

[f] [It is surprising that Mr. Palmer should implicitly allow this exploded fable. Very little is known concerning Patrick with any certainty ; but that little is all adverse to the supposition that he had any connexion with Rome. This has been proved (inter aliis) in the British Magazine, Vol. VIII. 259. s. 1. 399 ss. 609 ss.]

[g] *Seven* British bishops assembled and conferred with St. Augustine.—Beda, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 2. Theonus was bishop of London, and Thadiocus of York among the Saxons, about A. D. 586.—Usserii Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. 5. Kentigern, about the same time, ruled the British church in Glasgow and Cumberland.—Ibid. c. 14, 15.

revived, before or about the year 600, such as the churches of Canterbury, Rochester, London, &c.[h] Many other churches were founded among the Anglo-Saxons by Irish missionaries; such as the churches of Lindisfarn, or Durham, Lichfield, York, &c.[i] In fine, Scotland received Christianity, and visible churches were founded there by the Irish and Saxon churches.[k] Some disagreements between the ancient British and Saxons having been removed; the church was perfectly united in all parts of Britain and Ireland, and was acknowledged by all the Christian world, as a branch of the catholic church. These societies continued always to exist: history records their acts in every age[l]; the ordination of their bishops, the synods which they held for the correction of abuses, and the enforcement of discipline;[l] the charters of monarchs confirming in many ages their liberties and rights, their convocations, their reformation, the dangers and persecutions which they have suffered, their adversity and their prosperity. All our churches were originally founded by the labours of holy missionaries, who, in obedience to the divine command, having received their commission from the church of Christ, came into these lands, and gathered churches of Christ from amidst their heathen inhabitants. The societies thus formed by peaceful derivation from the Christian body, or by incorporation with it, and in no case by *separation* from a more ancient Christian society, have in all ages, without interruption, continued visibly to profess Christ, to administer Christian rites and sacraments, to be guided by a ministry professing to be Christian and apostolical, and to add continually new members to themselves by baptism. No other Christian societies formerly existed in these countries, from which our churches separated themselves originally, and acquired existence

[h] See Godwin "de Præsulibus Angliæ."

[i] Beda, Historia, lib. iii. c. 3. 5, 6. 21, 22.

[k] Beda, lib. iii. c. 4.

[l] See Wilkins' "Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ," where the acts of the British churches are recorded in regular succession, from A.D. 440 to A.D. 1717.

by the act of separation. The church of Canterbury has continued as a Christian society in unbroken succession for more than twelve centuries ;[m] that of Armagh has existed for fourteen centuries ;[n] those of Menevia and others in Wales, for at least the same time ; and all these churches were derived by spiritual descent, and fraternal association, from the still more ancient and apostolical churches of Britain, Gaul, and Rome. It may be objected, indeed, that our churches departed from their ancient faith, or were separated from the rest of the catholic church at the Reformation. That is a different question, and must be separately considered : but the fact is beyond all possibility of dispute : it is as certain as the truth of Christianity itself, that these churches have always continued as visible societies, in unbroken succession from the very earliest ages of Christianity. They may be called heretical, schismatical, apostate or any thing else : but their perpetuity as visible societies professing Christianity ; their antiquity, superior by full THIRTEEN CENTURIES to all those that surround them ; are matters of fact so absolutely certain, that he who denies them must be prepared to deny all historical truths whatever.

II. *The British churches preserve unity of communion among themselves and in each particular church ;*—their doctrine requires it ; their practice promotes it. Every member of these churches is taught that the commandment of God requires him to submit himself to his governors, teachers, and *spiritual pastors*."[o] Each of these pastors is obliged "reverently to obey his ordinary, and other chief ministers, unto whom is committed the charge and government over them."[p] Each bishop is bound to "correct and punish such as be unquiet, disobedient, and

[m] See the catalogue of all its archbishops in Godwin "de Præsulibus Angliæ." More than a hundred and fifty bishops in regular succession from St. Peter to the present time, have presided over the primitive Roman church, and over that of Canterbury, derived from it in the sixth century.

[n] Sir James Ware's history of the Irish bishops, with additions by Harris.

[o] Catechism in the Book of Common Prayer.

[p] Ordinat. of priests and deacons.

criminous within his diocese."[q] Thus it is evident, that the church of England requires and provides for unity and order within all her boundaries. Besides this she does not hesitate to denounce those who separate from her as guilty of a most grievous sin. Her canons pronounce that "whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostles' rules in the church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood," accounting the church of England unfit to be joined with in Christian profession, shall be excommunicated, and not restored till "after their repentance and public revocation of such their *wicked errors*."[r] Those even who shall maintain such schismatics, and allow them the name of a Christian church, are equally excommunicated by the church of England.[s] Schism is condemned in every way. Its authors, its maintainers, its conventicles, the supporters of its laws, rules, and orders, are all subjected to excommunication, and regarded as "wicked."[t] Can any more convincing proof be afforded that the church of England provides assiduously for the maintenance of entire unity of communion? I have before shown that her theologians teach the necessity of adhering to the unity of the church; and this arises from the firm belief of all, that salvation is only offered in that church.[u] But this is not the whole. The church of England, by her principles nips in the bud, or prevents all pretences for disturbance or separation. She declares that whoever "through his private judgment willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly," &c.;[v] and the canons subject them to excommunication.[w] She

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[q] Consecration of bishops.

[r] Canon ix. 1603.

[s] Canon x.

[t] Canon ix.—xii.

[u] See above, Chapter IV. sect. ii. art. iv.; and Chapter I. sect. iii. on Salvation in the Church only.

[v] Article XXXIV.

[w] Canon xxvii. 1603.

holds that "any particular or national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying."[x] In fine, she declares that "the church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith."[y] Now it is evident that these principles are calculated altogether to prevent disturbance and schism. The dissenter, Micaiah Towgood, confesses that "if the church hath really this authority and power, then all objections of the dissenters about sponsors, the cross in baptism, kneeling in the Lord's Supper, and every other thing, are impertinent and vain: the church having this authority, ought reverently to be obeyed."[z] The church however unquestionably claims this power, whether well or ill-founded, and therefore her principle is altogether subversive of schism and separation. That she does claim it is shown by Towgood himself, who remarks, that although it is said in the twentieth article that "the church may not ordain any thing contrary to God's word, nor so expound one Scripture as to be repugnant to another, yet of this repugnance and contrariety the church alone, you will observe, and not every private person, is allowed to be the proper judge: for otherwise the article is absurd; it actually overthrows itself, and takes away with one hand what it gives with the other," &c. He admits that "it does claim for the church some real authority," &c.[a] Such are the principles of unity maintained by the British churches. They may be accused of severity by those who do not believe as she does, that salvation is offered only in the church,[b] and that she herself is decidedly and unquestionably the church of God in these countries.

III. *These churches also continue in the unity of the communion with respect to the rest of the catholic church.*—It is, and always has been, an article of their belief, that there is a

[x] Article XXXIV. [y] Article XX.
[z] Towgood on Dissent. p. 2. [a] Ibid. p. 6, 7.
[b] See Chapter I. section iii.

visible and universal church of Christ, out of which there is no salvation :[c] consequently they must believe it in the highest degree sinful to separate from the universal church; and if separation from a particular national church is sinful in their opinion, how much more must be a separation from all the church? Hence it is altogether improbable that these churches should ever themselves have separated from the universal church; because their own principles would at once condemn them. Is it credible that, if they had voluntarily departed from the catholic church, they should continue always to profess their "belief" in that "catholic church," to pray for its "good estate," to desire its "unity," to entreat that it may be "ruled and governed in the right way," to confess that it acknowledges "throughout all the world" the holy and ever-blessed Trinity? How improbable is it, if we had separated ourselves from the universal church, that we should make so many confessions condemnatory of ourselves! The church of England, in fact, does not imagine for a moment that she has ever separated from the catholic church, or been separated by its authority. We altogether reject the former notion, as totally unfounded; without the shadow of a proof. It is evident to those who have perused her history, that the church of England never did at any time, by any voluntary act whatever, separate herself from the communion of the universal church.[d] We defy our adversaries to produce such an act. Let them name any English synod, any article, any authentic document whatever, which proves that the church of England did, either in act or intention, voluntarily separate or cut herself off from the communion of the rest of the universal church. No such act has been, or ever can be produced. All that is pretended by our adversaries is, that our churches are separated from the communion of the Roman pontiff, and therefore must necessa-

[c] See Chapter III. *ad finem*, and the place referred to in the preceding note.

[d] See Part II. Chapter II.

rily be cut off from the church of Christ. Before they can prove this, however, they must show that the Roman pontiff is by divine institution the centre of unity in such a sense, that whoever is not in his communion must be cut off from the church of Christ. This would take a very long time to prove, and would lead to a controversy of so much difficulty, as renders it apparently unfit to be adduced among the notes of the church; but what is a more serious difficulty is, that our opponents cannot *consistently* argue thus, for they admit that the Roman pontiffs are liable to error in doctrine and discipline, and to ambition, anger, pride, injustice, avarice, in a word, to all the passions and infirmities of human nature. The separation between the pontiff and our churches may have arisen from such faults on his part, and therefore we may be altogether blameless. If this is denied, then the pontiff must be impeccable and infallible; and, moreover, must be invested with all power *temporal* as well as spiritual, which is absurd, and denied by all our adversaries. "Who," says the learned Du Pin, doctor of the Sorbonne, "would say that Meletius, Cyril, and the other Orientals who supported him, were schismatics because they did not communicate with the Roman church; or who, on the contrary, would not confess that Paulinus and his adherents incurred the peril of schism, though they were in communion with the Roman church? Who would dare to say, that Athanasius and the rest were schismatics, and the Arians in the church, because Liberius admitted the latter to his communion, and rejected the former? No one ever held Atticus of Constantinople, and all the Oriental patriarchs, schismatics and excommunicated, although they were for a time divided from the communion of the Roman church."[e] Therefore nothing can be more vain and futile than the pretence that we are necessarily schismatical because we are not in communion with the Roman see. Those who charge us with schism on this account, have no resource but to look at facts,

[e] Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Disciplina, p. 256.

and prove that the church of England originally separated voluntarily from the communion of the Roman pontiff. But this they cannot do. The church of England removed the *jurisdiction* of the pontiff, but did not separate from his *communion*. The act of excommunication was entirely on his part, and if, long afterwards, measures were taken by the civil power to prevent communication with the Roman see, it was as a measure of self-defence, caused by its restless intrigues for the subjugation of our churches, and the control of our state.

Nor is it any proof whatever that our churches are schismatic, to allege that they are not actually in communion with the rest of the catholic church: because I have before proved that there is no impossibility in the supposition, that different portions of the catholic church may for a time be separated from mutual communion.[f] Our churches may therefore be a portion of the one, holy catholic church, though they are not actually in external communion with the greater part of it. The simple fact of non-communion is unavailing to prove us in schism. It must be proved that these churches have separated from all the rest, or that all the rest have by some regular judgment excommunicated them. Neither can be proved. I have already denied the former, and defied our adversaries to produce a shadow of proof for it. I also deny that the great body of the church ever excommunicated our churches. It has been already shown, that neither the Eastern nor the Western churches were excommunicated by any binding decree up to the period of the Reformation.[g] Consequently the British churches were not cut off from the catholic church up to the Reformation; but at that time, whatever decrees or judgments were made by some Western churches in respect of ours, were not confirmed or received by the Eastern churches, who remained exactly in the same position towards us that they had previously done. Consequently there could not have been any degree of excommunication passed by the catholic church

[f] Chapter IV. section iii. [g] See last chapter.

against us at the period of the Reformation; and besides this, we know that the theological opinion then prevalent in the Western churches was, that the Roman see was absolutely and always the centre of unity; whence they adjudged us schismatics merely on this prejudice, without examining the cause; and their judgment was accordingly informal, null, and void.

IV. *The British churches continue in the unity of faith, both as regards themselves and the rest of the catholic church.*—The principle of the church of England with respect to faith is, that "whosoever will be saved, before all things he must believe the catholic faith, which faith, except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly."[h] She accordingly regards heretics as cut off from the church, and out of the way of salvation. This I have also shown to be the doctrine of our most eminent theologians.[i] It does not seem possible that the necessity of an orthodox faith can be more strongly enforced by a church. But she is not contented with this; she makes provision for preserving the unity of faith by her practice. No one is admitted to her communion by baptism until, either by himself or his sponsors, he *promises* "to believe *all the articles* of the Christian faith."[k] Her children are all, from the earliest age, diligently instructed in the divine truths of religion, by pastors especially authorized by the church: and thus the catholic doctrine is infused into their minds not by reasoning, but by authority. In order to secure still more the unity of faith, it is provided that all her members shall hear and assent to several creeds and formularies of catholic faith in her various offices;[l] and unite in the

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[h] Athanasian Creed in the Book of Common Prayer. The eighth article says of this and the other creeds, that they "ought *thoroughly* to be received and believed: for they may be proved by *most certain* warrants of holy Scripture."

[i] Chap. V. sect. ii. art. 4.

[k] Office for Baptism.

[l] *e.g.* the Nicene, Apostolic, and Athanasian Creeds.

profession of all the Christian doctrines, which are assiduously interwoven in all her prayers, anthems, hymns, &c.[m] The clergy themselves are required by her customs to subscribe their assent, without any reservation whatever, to the body of faith and religious truth contained in the thirty-nine articles of religion. So that, in every imaginable way, these churches teach the necessity of receiving the whole uncorrupted truth of Christianity, and provide effective means for it among themselves. And further, we do not in any degree separate ourselves from the common faith of the catholic church. We do not pretend to found our faith on *our* interpretation of Scripture alone, to the exclusion of the doctrine or tradition of the church universal. Far from it. The injunction of the English church to her preachers is, that they "shall not teach any thing to be religiously held or believed, except what agrees with the doctrine of the Old or New Testament, and what the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from the same doctrine."[n] This recognizes most fully the guidance of tradition in matters of faith; and in matters of discipline the same is also admitted; for the three orders of the sacred ministry are received by the church of England, because their apostolic antiquity is proved by "ancient authors," as well as "holy Scripture;" and because they "were evermore had in reverend estimation in the church."[o] In short, the reverence of the church of England for the tradition of the universal church in all matters of doctrine and discipline, is so manifest, and the consent of her theologians at all times so perfectly accordant with the same sentiment, that the Lutheran Walchius accounts "the Episcopalians," (he means the catholics of the church of England,) "excessive in their reverence for the fathers."[p]

[m] Arians and Socinians bitterly complain of this, and urge the alteration of the ritual by force, in order to divest it of those distinctive doctrines of Christianity with which it abounds.

[n] Canons, 1572. [o] Preface to the Ordinal.

[p] See Part II. Chapter VI. "On the Principles of the English Reformation."

Hence the church of England has a fixed rule to guide her in the interpretation of Scripture, and a rule which is acknowledged also by all the rest of the catholic church. And hence it is very probable that in reality she agrees in all matters of faith with other churches, for she admits the same rule ; and at all events it is not to be supposed, that acknowledging as she does, the authority of catholic tradition, she should *designedly* or *evidently* contradict it by her doctrines. Were the doctrines of the ancient fathers and councils, and generally those of the universal church, clearly condemnatory of her doctrines; did they universally esteem matters of faith, what she esteems error or heresy; would it not follow that the church of England, or at least her theologians, must in process of time have revolted against antiquity, and represented it as entirely unworthy of credit ? We know what the universal conduct of those who esteem the tradition of the church opposed to their doctrines, has been. The Socinians, the Independents, and all other dissenters, in a word, almost all other "denominations" calling themselves Christian, deride, despise, and reject the traditions of the universal church. They decry them as the doctrines of men, and endeavour by all means to prevent an appeal to them. How widely different is the conduct of the church of England, and the whole body of her eminent theologians, who are only desirous to follow in the footsteps of antiquity, and ever ready to give an answer to any one that asketh them concerning their adherence to the doctrines of the universal church !

But there is another principle of the church of England, which is in the highest degree calculated to preserve her in unity of faith. That principle is contained in the twentieth article :— "THE CHURCH HATH . . . AUTHORITY IN CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH :" that is, not only have national churches the power of defining the faith for their own members ; but national churches themselves are subject in matters of faith to the superior authority of the universal church. The opponents of the church of England cannot deny that she really claims authority for the

church. The dissenter Towgood admits it,[q] and the Romanist Milner is compelled by the force of truth, in contradiction to the impudent assertions of many of his brethren, to make the confession that our churches *do* admit authority in the church. "You do very right, sir," he says to Dr. Sturges, "in classing Protestants with Catholics, when you speak of those who admit *a proper authority in the church* . . . . with respect both to *faith and rights;* as it is easy to show that this is *no less the doctrine of the church of England than it is of catholics*, from the writings of her most learned divines, from her present established terms of communion, (The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, Art. XX. inter. 39,) and from her repeated practice in holding synods at home, and in sending representatives to those abroad, particularly to the famous synod of Dort, in the reign of James I. when we all know that religious questions were decided in as high a tone of authority, as they were in the council of Trent."[r] Now admitting, as we do, the authority of the church generally; is it credible, is it possible, that we could designedly or knowingly oppose ourselves to the judgments and decisions of the universal church? Surely not. The church of England could never have established, or at least retained, such a principle, if she was not firmly convinced that the authority of the church is not *against* her. It may be supposed, perhaps, that she is mistaken as to the question of *fact*. Some opinion which she holds may be imagined really to have been condemned by the universal church: but, if so, the church of England does not know it; she is persuaded to the contrary by strongly probable reasons; but the authority of the universal church, when clearly manifested, she *never* rejects. Therefore

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[q] On dissent, p. 5, 6.

[r] Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, Lett. II. The last assertion is not strictly correct, as the church of England did not, in fact, send any deputies to the synod of Dort. They were sent by King James I.; and the act of this monarch alone, could not bind the church of England.

it is impossible to deny, that in principle at least, we depart not in the slightest degree from the unity of the catholic faith; and if it comes to the question of fact, whether we really do receive all the doctrines, and allow all the definitions made by the authority of the universal church; I reply, without the least doubt or hesitation, that *we do*. The church of England, in fact, rejects every doctrine that the universal church has condemned, and believes every thing which that church has declared to be an article of faith; and as a member of the church of England, and in the strictest conformity with her principles, *I receive every decree, council, doctrine, which the catholic church receives; and anathematize every heresy which she anathematizes*. It is not to be supposed credible, that the church of England, which maintains such principles as I have spoken of, can be in any heresy contrary to the faith. But I proceed to adduce further proofs of this, from the circumstance that her doctrine has never been condemned by the catholic church. It is pretended that our doctrines were condemned by the church, at the synod of Trent. Now admitting that there is an opposition, in some points, between the decisions of that assembly and those of the English synod, we can easily prove that the universal church made no judgment in that synod; for the Eastern churches and our own were neither present there, nor ever received its decrees. The church universal therefore made no judgment in that synod; and although the greater part of the Western church received its decrees, this is not to be taken as any proof of the *judgment* of the Western churches; for it is capable of POSITIVE PROOF, that at that time theological opinions were universally prevalent among them, which rendered it impossible for them to take cognizance of the controversy in a legitimate manner, that is, to *examine* its merits; and therefore, that their reception of the synod of Trent, was a mere registration of the decrees of a certain number of bishops assembled there, and not the approving judgment of the Western church.[s]

[s] See Part IV. Chap. XII. where the authority of the synod of Trent is discussed at large.

As to the other Western synods which were previously held, and which are said to contradict our doctrine, we are prepared to show, that they were merely particular synods, not confirmed by catholic authority; and, moreover, that several of those objected, in no degree differ from our doctrine.[t] This is the position we sustain: but to enter into a particular examination whether it is well or ill-founded, cannot be requisite to determine whether the church of England is a portion of the catholic church; because it would lead to lengthened investigations, which must be impossible to the great majority of men. Suffice it to say, that we are *prepared* to prove that the catholic church has never condemned any doctrine which we maintain. This being the case, there can be no presumption of our heresy in any point.

It may be alleged, however, that the English does actually differ, in several points of doctrine, from the Oriental and Latin churches; and, therefore, that either one party or the other must be in heresy. But I have proved before, that there may be some differences of doctrine between particular churches; and that even under very peculiar circumstances, these differences may extend to matters of faith, without heresy.[u] Consequently the mere fact of differences in religion, proves nothing as to the heresy of either party; and the English and other churches which differ in some points from her, may yet all be connected by the unity of the catholic faith. To prove that either of them is separated from this unity, we must enter into a most extensive examination of doctrines in controversy, with a view not merely to ascertain what the truth of Revelation really is, but to determine whether it is believed or denied by particular churches; or whether the difference is apparent rather than real, whether it is a difference between individuals or churches; finally, whether it is obstinately maintained. The inconvenience of such a process, and its unsuitableness to the great mass of mankind, for the discovery of the true church, is sufficiently obvious.

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[t] See Part IV.

[u] Chapter V. section iii.

In fine, our adversaries, however reluctantly, are obliged to bear witness to the general orthodoxy of our faith. The very points on which we are assailed by some Romanists, are relinquished by others. The points of difference are acknowledged to be but few, by some of their most noted and learned writers ;[v] and the church of England is triumphantly cleared from heresy, on every point, by their confessions. Are we charged by Bossuet with denying the authority of the church, and rendering it subservient to the civil power? Milner replies to him, that the church of England holds, in these points, the principles of the catholic church.[w] Are we accused of denying the real presence? Milner and Hornyhold acknowledge our perfect belief of that doctrine.[x] I will not here dwell at length on these things ; it is sufficient to add, that the articles of the church of England have been approved, in almost all points, by Davenport,[y] and Du Pin ;[z] and that various Romanists of note have held the difference between us to be so small, as to render a re-union of the churches by no means impossible.[a] All this proves that, al-

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[v] O'Conor, Dr. Doyle. See also, the "Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion," reprinted and commended by Papists.

[w] Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, Lett. II.

[x] Ibid. Lett. VIII. Hornyhold's Real Principles of Catholics, p. 243.

[y] Franc. Davenport, al. à S. Clara, Paraphrastica Exposit. Artic. Confess. Anglicanæ. See also Barnes, Catholico-Romanus Pacificus.

[z] Mosheim,' Eccl. Hist. vol. vi. where the heads of Du Pin's Commonitorium are stated in the correspondence relative to Archbishop Wake.

[a] Especially the late Dr. Doyle, who in his letter to Robertson (See Catholic Miscellany, 1824, p. 234, &c.) observed: "This union is not so difficult as appears to many. It is not difficult; for in the discussions which were held, and the correspondence which occurred on this subject early in the last century, as well that in which Archbishop Tillotson (Wake) was engaged, as the others which were carried on between Bossuet and Leibnitz, it appeared that the points of agreement between the churches were numerous ; those on which the parties hesitated few, and apparently not the most important. The effort which was then made was not attended with success; but its failure was owing more to princes than priests; more to state policy, than *a difference of belief*." He states, that the chief points

though Romanists remain separate from our churches, and accuse them of heresy, there is no certainty of the justice of such an imputation, even among themselves. But there is one other way in which the adversaries of our churches all bear testimony, involuntarily, to their orthodoxy on all points. The cause of the church is, in every point of controversy, defended by a number of those who have separated from her. The authority which she claims for the church of Christ, and for which she is vehemently assailed by dissenters, is supported by Romanists. Her doctrines are defended against Romanists by dissenters, against dissenters by Romanists, and by one sect of dissenters against another. It has long been the privilege of the catholic church, to derive confirmation to her faith, from the dissensions of those around her. So it was in the days of St. Hilary of Poictiers, and so it still continues to be. "All the heretics advance against the church; but while they all prevail against each other, they prevail not at all; for their victory is but the triumph of the church over all, since each heresy is contending against some other, on account of its condemnation of

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in discussion are, the canon of the sacred Scripture, faith, justification, the mass, the sacraments, the authority of tradition, of councils, the pope, the celibacy of the clergy, language of the liturgy, invocation of saints, respect for images, prayers for the dead. "On most of these," he adds, "it appears to me, that there is no *essential difference* between the 'Catholics' and 'Protestants.' The existing diversity of opinion arises, in most cases, from certain forms of words, which admit of satisfactory explanation, or from the ignorance or misconceptions which ancient prejudices and ill-will produce and strengthen; but which could be removed." Such was Dr. Doyle's confession. Dr. Charles O'Conor, by far the most learned writer who has arisen among the papists of these countries, in modern times, says: "I am *confident* that above *three parts* of those debates which separate 'Protestants' from 'Catholics' might be laid aside; that they serve only to exasperate and alienate us from each other; and that if our church were heard *canonically*, she would not only reject with horror the false doctrines and notorious abominations so often imputed to her, but she would also smooth many other difficulties, which lie in the way of reconciliation and peace." —Columbanus, Letter III. p. 130.

the church's doctrine (for they believe nothing in common); and meanwhile, by their contradictions, they confirm our faith."[b]

V. *The British churches are holy.*—Their doctrine is calculated to promote holiness, and its fruits are abundantly manifested. The necessity of holiness, in order to salvation, is maintained firmly by these churches: it forms a portion of their creed. They profess, that "all men shall rise again with their bodies; and shall *give account for their own works.* And they that have done *good*, shall go into *life everlasting;* and they that have done *evil*, into *everlasting fire.*"[c] It is impossible to express more strongly the necessity of sanctification, and this too in the very creed of the church, which she proposes to all her members to be "thoroughly received and believed;" and which is continually repeated in her public service, that they may give testimony of this belief and reception, by joining heartily in so holy a confession. Hence it is absurd to pretend that the church of England dispenses with holiness in her members. Her Articles indeed declare, that we are justified or accounted righteous before God, "not for our own works and deservings," but for the merit of Christ and by means of faith; but it is a lively faith which is necessarily productive of good works, as the same article intimates.[d] In fact, so careful is the church of England to urge the necessity of holiness, that she does not admit any new member to her communion without exacting from him, or his sponsors in his name, a solemn vow or promise "to renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that he will not follow nor be led by them;" and another solemn promise, "obediently to keep God's commandments, and walk in the same all the days of his life."[e] The church of England only admits members to her communion under a vow of holiness; and she requires them afterwards, at

[b] Hilarius Pictav. de Trinitate, l. vii. p. 917. ed. Ben.
[c] Athanasian Creed.
[d] Articles XI. XII.
[e] Office of Baptism.

confirmation, to renew in the presence of God and the church, that solemn vow made at baptism; and to acknowledge themselves "bound to believe and do accordingly."[f] She forbids sinners to approach the holy table,[g] and if their sins are notorious, commands her ministers to repel them from it.[h] Her prayers, her hymns, all her services, breathe a horror of sin, and an ardent desire for spiritual holiness and perfection. But it is needless to dwell on further particular proofs of the sanctity of our doctrine, for there cannot be a doubt of it after what has been alleged.

And as this has always been the doctrine of our churches from the time of the apostles, so they have in every age been the fruitful parents of saints and holy men. The stream of ages carried in its course the names of martyrs, and saints, and holy missionaries, who derived their Christianity from our catholic churches. In the third century Alban was our protomartyr. In the following ages Palladius, Patrick, David, Augustine, Columba, Birinus, Chad, Swithin, Colman, Cuthbert, Columbanus, venerable Bede, king Edward the confessor, Alphege, Odo, Anselm, Osmund, and others innumerable, carried on the line of sanctity in our church. In later ages, Hugh of Lincoln, Richard of Chichester, Groteste, Hampole, Ockham, Hooker, Andrewes, Usher, Hammond, Leighton, Sanderson, Beveridge, Kenn, Wilson, carried on the succession of Christian sanctity. From these churches have proceeded many eminent and holy missionaries in different ages. Columbanus preached in France and Germany. Gallus converted Switzerland. Kilianus went from us to convert the Franks; Willibrod to preach to the Batavians, Frieslanders, and Danes; Winfrid, or Boniface, to Germany, where he founded extensive churches. Lebuin we sent to Saxony and Friesland, Guthebald to Norway, and Sigfrid to Sweden. Nor has the missionary spirit of our churches failed to show itself at various later times, in establishing mis-

[f] Office of Confirmation.

[g] Exhortation in communion office.

[h] Rubric at the head of the communion office.

sions for the conversion of the Indians of North America, the Negroes, the idolaters of Hindostan, China, &c.; and many holy and devoted servants of Christ have spent their lives in labouring to enlarge the kingdom of Christ, even to the present day. Thus it is evident that our churches have all the marks of sanctity which can be expected in any part of the catholic church; and without making invidious comparisons, it is pretty clear that the tone of public morality and zeal for Christianity, is at least not inferior amongst us to that of any other part of the church. In what country do we behold more numerous institutions for those who are in sickness and in poverty? And where does the cry of famishing or persecuted humanity meet with a more abundant and charitable relief? Finally, in what portion of the church are holier efforts made by religious men to provide spiritual instruction and consolation for the scattered sheep of Christ? It is the church of England which has fixed the tone of public morality amongst us. It is the wealth, the charity of her children, who constitute the vast majority of our population, and the whole of our higher classes, which has been so beneficently distributed. The reception which the bishops and clergy of the old Gallican church, exiled for their conscientious refusal to submit to the dictation of an infidel Convention; the liberality, and still more the generous sympathy which they experienced from the clergy, the universities, the laity of our church, ought to have secured from the taunts and calumnies of Romanists, a religion which could inspire all the sentiments and actions of genuine charity.

VI. *The British churches are catholic.*—Of course we do not pretend that our particular churches constitute the whole church of Christ. We believe that the catholic church exists in all parts of the world; and therefore it is absurd to ask us to prove that the church of England is universal. It is sufficient if we are able to point out exactly those churches in all nations which we acknowledge to be parts of the one catholic church. This we are perfectly willing and able to do: and as we have never separated ourselves from those churches in faith or com-

munion, so have they never passed any sentence of condemnation against us. Our communion is interrupted by accidental circumstances, misunderstandings, faults, &c., which do not, strictly speaking, involve either party in schism or heresy. This at least is our assertion, and in order to prove it false, our adversaries must resort to a long discussion of facts and principles.

Our churches are catholic, because they acknowledge the catholic church, respect its authority, receive its faith, and have never been divided from it. Thus they have all the qualities of catholicity which particular churches can have. The Gallican church cannot have more, nor the Greek, nor the Russian, nor the Spanish. None of these churches are in themselves universal; they are all parts of the catholic church; and so also are our churches. In fine, we use the name of catholic as appropriate to our churches,[i] while we give other titles to the various denominations which have separated from us; as Independents, Quakers, Swedenborgians, Baptists, Romanists or Papists, Huntingdonians, Methodists, Socinians, Unitarians, &c. None of these communities dispute with us the posses-

[i] For example, in the order for prayer before sermons in 1535, the preacher was to "pray for the whole catholic church of Christ, &c. and especially for the *catholic* church of this realm," and for king Henry VIII. the supreme head "of this *catholic* church of England."—See Burnet, vol. iii. Records, n. 29. In the act against appeals to Rome (24 Hen. VIII. c. 12), it is said that the clergy of the realm shall administer all sacraments, &c. "unto all the subjects of the same, as *catholic* and Christian men owen to do." In the act against Annates (23 Hen. VIII. c. 33), it is said that the king and all his subjects "as well spiritual as temporal, been as obedient, devout, *catholic*, and humble children of God, and holy church, as any people be within any realm christened." The act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. against Peter-pence, declares that the king and people of England "do not intend to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's church in any things concerning the very articles of the *catholic* faith of Christendom." The English ritual contains prayers for the "catholic" church only: nor do any of our formularies recognize any titles or names as applied to designate the church of England, except those of the primitive church. The language of our learned theologians is always regulated by this principle.

sion of this name except Romanists; and their impudent pertinacity in the assumption of it, induces sometimes the ignorant or the indifferent to countenance their claim in some degree; but all who are sufficiently informed do not recognize them under this appellation, because they know not any other catholics in these countries except the members of our apostolical churches.

VII. *The British churches are apostolical.*—I have already shown that they have existed visibly and perpetually as societies of professing Christians, partaking of Christian rites, and guided by ministers professing to be ministers of Christ. These societies were originally derived, if not from the actual preaching of the apostles, at least from the churches founded by the apostles; and they were incorporated at their foundation with the whole body of the church; not ejected or separated from it at the very moment of their existence. They are the original Christian societies of these countries, descended by unbroken succession from a most profound antiquity; and they are the parent stem from which all other communities of professing Christians in this country fell, or were cast forth as withered branches. Thus it is clear that they are apostolical in their succession as Christian societies. And further, their ministry is also descended from the apostles. They alone, of all societies around us (with the single exception of the Romanists), *claim* this apostolical succession. All other communities evince their want of such a succession by the derision and scorn with which they treat the notion, and their abuse of all who maintain it. This is a convincing proof that they themselves neither have this succession, nor can by possibility pretend any right to it. We have only to meet the objections advanced by Romanists, and others after them, to the validity of our ordinations, and the mission of our clergy. Now in the first place, it is well to lay as a foundation, the admission of our adversaries, that the church of England *claims* a perpetual succession of valid ordinations. Milner, a Romanist, says, the church of England "teaches that the orders of her ministers have de-

scended from the apostles and are appointed by God; and that the power given to them in the ceremony of ordination is communicated by the Holy Ghost; moreover, that the form of episcopacy is divine and essentially necessary to her existence." This he proves from her formularies, and from various historical facts, which, he says, "may be alleged in proof of the church of England's opinion concerning the *necessity of regular and uninterrupted succession* from Christ and his apostles in the sacred ministry."[k] The claim then of the church of England is manifest; but the Romanists pretend that it is ill-founded, and endeavour to show that our ordinations are invalid in several points. Now there are two arguments which prove that they themselves do not believe that our ordinations are really invalid. First, it appears from the history of the controversy, that new objections were continually invented by them, as their former objections were found untenable. Originally it was denied, that our bishops at the Reformation had received any ordination. After forty years, it was pretended that the ordination was only performed by a presbyter. Sixty years after that, it was pretended that the *form* of ordination was invalid. New tales were continually devised as the old ones were proved to be fabrications; and all this leads to the conclusion, that the validity of our ordinations was denied from a motive of prudence, and in order to obtain benefits to the cause of the Romish party, not from any real doubt or difficulty. Difficulties were got up, invented, sought for: which is a sufficient proof that they all arose from the spirit of controversy.[l] Latterly, however, these old objections are usually neglected by Romish controversialists, and they limit themselves to prove that our ordinations are irregular and schismatic, not absolutely null. The second argument is, that some of the most eminent divines of the Roman obedience have acknowledged the validity of our orders. Bossuet himself, the prince of their controversialists, was thoroughly convinced of it;

[k] Letters to a Prebendary, Lett. VIII. p. 220, 221.

[l] See Part VI. Chapter X. "On English Ordinations."

Courayer expressly and ably defended it; and many others have fully concurred in the same opinion.[m] Therefore on the whole, the probability is entirely in our favour, for what but the force of truth could have compelled our very adversaries to confessions so favourable to us? When to this we add the inconsistency, and the evident *design* of those who have invented objections; no rational doubt can remain that our ordinations are indeed valid, as the church of England believes them to be. It is surely not credible that, believing as she does, even by our adversaries' confession, the *necessity* of valid episcopal ordination, she should have failed to maintain such an ordination, or have risked it in any way.

Thus our ordinations are evidently derived by valid succession from the apostles; and it only remains to show that they were legitimate and free from schism. Now I have before proved that these churches are free from schism; therefore the clergy must have mission; and though it would lead to a too lengthened discussion, to examine here all the points in which they are charged with irregularity, at the time of the Reformation; still we are prepared to justify them in all respects, whenever our adversaries please. We, however, can retort on the Romanists their objections much more easily; and prove from the doctrines of their most eminent theologians, that they are themselves without any valid ordinations in these countries:[n] and while we can trace an unbroken succession of bishops in all the churches; they are unable to show more than two or three sees in which a succession of their pastors has existed from the sixteenth century: and those were merely usurpers and intruders into sees already filled.[o]

VIII. Since then it is certain that our churches have been perpetually visible even from the earliest ages; since they pre-

[m] See Part VI. Chapter X. "On English Ordinations."

[n] See Part VI. Chapter XI. "On Romish Ordinations."

[o] See their "Ordo" for Ireland, cited in Brit. Magazine for 1836. p. 615. &c. See also Part II. Chapter IX. "On the Reformation and Schism in Ireland."

serve the unity of communion both in themselves, and as respects the catholic church; since they equally preserve the unity of faith; since they have never been in any way separated from the unity of the catholic church; since they have all the characteristics of Christian holiness which can belong to a branch of the true church; and since their ministry is derived in regular and valid succession from the apostles; there can be no reasonable doubt that they are indeed churches of Christ. The probability is so great that it should be sufficient to determine any man without further examination to unite himself to them. And this probability is heightened to moral certainty, when it is remembered that no fact in history is more clear than this; that every other community or denomination of professing Christians among us, originally separated itself or was cut off from our churches. This is a peculiar character which distinguishes the church of England in the most brilliant manner from all the rest, and marks her amongst us as "that city set upon a hill which cannot be hid." Her antiquity, superior by full THIRTEEN CENTURIES to all those around her: her orthodoxy, confirmed by the admissions, and still more by the contests and mutual differences of all her rebellious children: her perpetuity amidst the persecutions of sects, and of temporal powers; all prove, that of a truth, the arm of the Lord is with her, and the blessing of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, rests upon her. If there be any church of God amongst us, it can be none other than this: for the marks and characteristics of the true church belong to her alone, among all the communities which profess Christianity in these realms. Does any society except ours even pretend to apostolical and perpetual succession in these countries? The Romanists alone do so, and they are instantly overthrown by the notorious fact, that their societies were gathered out of the churches of England and Ireland, by jesuits and missionary priests in the reign of queen Elizabeth. They existed then for the *first time*, and gained existence only by separating from an older Christian society. Therefore, to

pretend that they have apostolical succession, would be altogether absurd, and cannot be listened to for a moment.

There is therefore the strongest probability, amounting to moral certainty, that the British churches constitute really the church of God in these countries; for how incredible is it that God should permit a false church to wear all the attributes of a true one, and therefore to lead such a vast multitude of people to destruction. Hence it is plain that it is the duty of every one to unite himself to our churches without delay; nor is it in any degree necessary to enter on an examination of all the doctrines and practices of these churches, to ascertain their conformity with Christianity.[p] It is true that several of our doctrines are carped at by various communities around us. The Romanists accuse us of heresy on several points. We deny the charge most absolutely and peremptorily. Is it then necessary to go into an examination of all these points, on which the church is assailed by her adversaries, before we join her communion? Were this the case, few men would ever be enabled to unite themselves to her, even though she be the church of God, in which salvation is offered; because their lives would be spent in investigating critically all these controversies of faith. It cannot be needful, for example, to enter into the controver-

[p] According to all Romish controversialists, the discussion of particular doctrines is not the proper mode of discriminating the true church. Tournely says, "Neque vera Christi doctrina, neque legitimus sacramentorum usus, sunt veræ notæ quibus certo dignosci possit Ecclesia Christi, et discerni a quacunque alia falsi nominis Ecclesia." (De Ecclesia, i. p. 62.) Because, as he argues, all sects boast that the truth of doctrine and sacraments is with them. "Tam obscurum est, imo longe magis, dignoscere quæ est pura Christi doctrina, et quæ vera ejus sacramenta, quam quæ sit vera Ecclesia," (p. 66.) . . . . "simplices rustici, illiterati, plebæi, &c. prorsus incapaces sunt discussionis seu examinis doctrinæ," (p. 71.) Cardinal de la Luzerne argues well to the same effect: Dissertation sur les Eglises Cath. et Prot. t. i. p. 102, &c. On these principles it is needless to examine the doctrine of the British churches in order to be convinced of their soundness. Their orthodoxy should be assumed as certain from their possessing all the marks of the true church.

sies concerning the Trinity, incarnation, original sin, predestination, the sacraments, the power of the Roman pontiff, the forms of church government, &c. &c. and to master them all before we unite ourselves to the church. This would impose an impenetrable bar in the way of those who are called by God to unite themselves without delay to the Christian and catholic church, and to receive from her, as "the pillar and ground of truth," that instruction and guidance which she is authorized by God, and aided by his Holy Spirit, to bestow. We are ready, however, to clear up the difficulties which press more particularly on the minds of those, who are otherwise willing to enter the church of Christ; nor do we pretend to repress the inquiries of those who are of our communion, provided they are always directed humbly in accordance with Scripture and catholic tradition, and do not transgress the articles of the catholic faith, which we guard with the utmost vigilance.

OBJECTIONS.

I. The church of England cannot pretend to be spiritually descended from the ancient British and English churches, because she changed her faith at the Reformation. The doctrines now maintained by the church of England, differ in several points from those which were held by the church before the Reformation.

Answer. It has been before proved, that all differences in doctrine are not differences in faith; and that differences in faith do not always involve heresy.[q] Consequently the church of England may differ, even in some point of faith, from her former self; and yet may always have continued free from heresy. The African churches did not change their religion because they admitted in the time of Augustine, the baptism of heretics, which they had rejected in the time of Cyprian. The Western churches did not change their religion because,

[q] Chapter V. sect. iii.

after administering the eucharist in both kinds, for many centuries, they at last administered it in one kind only. The Spanish churches did not change their religion, when they abolished the practice of trine immersion in baptism, on account of the Arian heresy which abused it. And, in like manner, the churches of England did not necessarily change their religion, because in one age certain opinions and practices were introduced, and in another were corrected or removed. To prove that the church of England differs, in articles of faith, from her belief in any former age, it would be necessary to go into a very long examination of particular doctrines, and of the mode and degree in which they have been held by the church in different ages, which would obviously lead to great inconvenience; for the great body of mankind are totally incapable of instituting such a comparison. Therefore this objection cannot afford any excuse for being separate from our branch of the catholic church.

II. The church of England was founded by Henry VIII. and Cranmer, therefore she cannot be apostolical.

Answer. It is said by the same objectors, that the Eastern church was founded by Cerularius. We might add, with equal historical truth and decency, that the Roman church was founded by Bossuet, or by the late Dr. Milner.

III. The British churches do not possess unity of doctrine, for several of their theologians, such as Hoadley, Clarke, Blackburne, &c. were infected with Arian or Socinian notions, contrary to her doctrines.

Answer. Every church, without exception, is occasionally troubled by false brethren. Jansenism, infidelity, and indifference, exist in the bosom of the Roman churches.[r] Hoadley escaped punishment only by his arts, and the interference of the civil power; Clarke was censured by the convocation; the others were so cautious, that they generally avoided open contradiction to the doctrines of the church. In fine, it is certain,

[r] See the Appendices to the next chapter.

by the confession and the *practice* of Romanists, that the church is sometimes obliged, for various good reasons, to tolerate heretics for a time; but she does not regard them as her children.[s]

IV. There are parties in the British churches (evangelical and orthodox) which differ in doctrine: therefore they have not unity of faith.

Answer. There are similar parties divided on the same questions, in the Roman churches; viz. the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits; not to speak of the Ultramontane and the Gallican; the Jansenists and Jesuits, the Reformers and Antireformers, who all differ on several points of doctrine. But it is plain, that there can be no very great or essential difference between the members of our churches, from the fact of their remaining united in the same communion, without any separation, and with general mutual good will.

V. There are different societies which claim to be the church of England; *e. g.* besides the established church, there are the Nonjurors and the Methodists.

Answer. (1.) The Nonjurors came to an end long ago; and even they did not claim, exclusively, to be the church of England; that is, the more learned of them. The Methodists do not pretend to be a church at all: but call themselves a society or association, which they would represent to be united to the church of England, and subsidiary to its ministrations. (2.) Other churches are subject to this objection still more than ours. For example: the Roman churches are confronted and rivalled, first, by the Constitutional church, derived from the

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[s] Bailly, a Roman theologian, in reply to the objection, that the Roman church sometimes tolerates heretics in her bosom; and suffers some who resist the definitions of the church, to unite with the faithful in sacred offices, says; "Ejusmodi homines tolerat Ecclesia, id est, nominatim a communione sua non arcet, concedo: eos habet ut filios, nego. Aliquando Ecclesia, prudentiæ causa, ut pejora devitet, atque ut facilius ad meliora reducantur, tolerat nonnullos suis definitionibus adversantes," &c.—Tract. de Eccl. Christi, cap. vi. prop. iv. inter objectiones.

bishops and church established in France in the revolution; secondly, by the adherents of the Gallican bishops, exiled at that time, and deprived of their sees, in direct contradiction to the canons, by Pius VII. of Rome, in 1801; thirdly, the Jansenist church, existing in several parts, and established in Holland, under their archbishop of Utrecht and other prelates. Each of these societies regard themselves as constituting the true Roman Catholic Church, and impute schism or heresy to some or all of those who are subject to the Roman pontiffs.

VI. The church of England is admitted, by its own writers, to have separated from the catholic church. Bishop Jewell, in his Apology, says: "We have departed indeed from them, and for that thing we offer thanks to God, and exceedingly congratulate ourselves"[t] . . . . "Though we have departed from that church which they call catholic, and for that reason they cause hatred towards us among those that cannot judge, yet it is sufficient for us, and ought to be for any prudent and pious man, that we have departed from that church which might err," &c.[u]

Answer. Jewell corrects himself elsewhere, and says, that we rather departed from the *errors* of the Roman church, than from the church itself;[v] and in another place he says, "We have not so much departed from them, as been ejected by curses and excommunications."[w] Therefore it is plain that Jewell, in the former passages, spoke loosely, and needs correction. Chillingworth observes with truth, that "It is not all one to forsake the errors of the church, or to forsake the church in her error, and simply to forsake the church; no more than it is for me to renounce my brother's or my friend's vices or

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[t] Juelli Apologia, p. 141. ed. 1606.

[u] Ibid. 56. See Dr. Wordsworth's Christian Institutes, vol. iv. p. 313, for some very excellent observations on this subject. Dr. W. shows that Jewell has not, in this place, done justice to the church of England; and cites Hooker, Laud, and Sir R. Twysden, in proof that we did not separate from the church.

[v] Ibid. p. 98. [w] Ibid. p. 145.

errors, and to renounce my brother or my friend. The former, then, was done by protestants, the latter was not done. Nay, not only not from the catholic, but not so much as from the Roman, did they separate *per omnia;* but only in those practices which they conceived superstitious or impious."[x] I adduce this passage from Chillingworth, because such a testimony derives additional value in coming from an undervaluer of Church authority, as he was. Hooker says: "We hope, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the church we were of before. In the church we were, and we are so still."[y]

VII. The fruits of sanctity are not found in the British churches, for none of the saints were of their communion; they have no monastic institutions, and the practice of fasting is neglected among them.

Answer. (1.) I have already proved that many eminent saints have arisen in these churches; and to assert, that none of the saints were of our communion, is to assume the point in debate; for if the church of England be a part of the catholic church, *all* the saints belong to us. (2.) The catholic church had no monastic institutions for the first three centuries: and monasteries have been abolished, even in many countries subject to the Roman jurisdiction, as well as amongst us. Besides this: such institutions are commonly very degenerate amongst Romanists; and a truly ascetic spirit may be, and doubtless is, preserved in many churches without them. (3.) As to the practice of fasting, it is true that the design and commands of our churches are not sufficiently attended to in this respect. The papist Milner himself proves, that the duty of fasting is established by the church of England:[z] but it is certain that every church is deficient sometimes, in some points of disci-

[x] Chillingworth, chapter iii. s. 11.

[y] Ecclesiastical Polity, Works, vol. i. p. 437. ed. Keble.

[z] Letters to a Prebendary, lett. iii. He proves it from the Homilies, the Book of Common Prayer, the Whole Duty of Man, and the works of Bishops Patrick, Beveridge, and Gunning.

pline; and there is none which has greater deficiencies than the Roman itself. Van Espen, one of their most learned writers, deplores the utter neglect of discipline among them, and the multitude of offences and crimes suffered to pass without rebuke.[a] In fine, there is no necessity whatever to prove our churches superior or even equal in all respects in sanctity to other branches of the catholic church, because churches of Christ may differ in actual sanctity. But we do not fear that comparison with other churches will turn to *our* disadvantage in this respect, and I shall show this in the next chapter.

VIII. The reformers of the church of England were not holy. Henry VIII. was a tyrant, and a prey to his passions. Cranmer was in several respects unholy.

Answer. Romanists affirm that the only alteration introduced by Henry VIII. was the suppression of the papal jurisdiction. Therefore they cannot regard him as properly the reformer of the church of England. But however, admitting that Henry and Somerset, and others who aided in the reformation of abuses in our churches, were not free from serious offences, still it does not follow that the measures which they supported were in themselves unholy. By no means: Bossuet himself admits the reverse. "Who doubts," he says, "that God has made use of very evil princes to accomplish great works?"[b] Therefore the character of Henry, Somerset, &c. affords no presumption against the church of England: and as to Cranmer, though we do not observe in his character any extraordinary sanctity or firmness, still he is easily defended from all those accusations of hypocrisy, perjury, and other abominable crimes, which have been so industriously fastened on him by our opponents.[c] In short, it is evident that every effort has been made to blacken his character and that of Henry VIII.,

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[a] Van Espen, Jus Canonicum, pars i. tit. xx. d. i. s. 11.

[b] "M. Burnet prend beaucoup de peine à entasser des exemples de princes très déreglés dont Dieu s'est servi pour de grans ouvrages. *Qui en doute?*"—Variations, liv. vii. s. xlix.

[c] See Part II. Chapter VIII.

and all others who promoted the reformation, in order to throw discredit on the church of England.

IX. The argument of St. Augustine and Optatus against the Donatists, urging that they could not be the true church because their communion was limited to the single region of Africa, is equally applicable to the British churches, which are also of a limited extent.

Answer. The Donatists pretended that they alone constituted the church of Christ, the rest of the Christian world having fallen into apostacy: but we do not make the same claim, but admit that there are churches in all parts of the world, and can point out which they are. Therefore the argument from the universality of the church, which was so cogent against the Donatists, has no application to us: for we account for the absence of communion between ourselves and other churches without imputing heresy, schism, or apostacy to them, or to ourselves.

X. The churches of England, &c. are not apostolical, because various writers of their communion, such as Middleton, Casaubon, &c. have admitted that the doctrines and practice of the early church recorded by the fathers were opposed to the church of England.

Answer. These writers are generally to be regarded as unsound members of our churches, who endeavoured to undermine the reverence paid to catholic tradition, in order that they might open a way for the subversion of our catholic faith, which is so strongly confirmed by the tradition of the church. Middleton resolved the account of the fall of man into a mere allegory, thereby undermining the whole fabric of Christianity. Therefore the sentiments of such a man can have no weight on any religious subject. It is certain, however, that the church of England, and the whole body of our eminent and learned theologians, receive the doctrine of the church universal, and the apostolical tradition, with great reverence and devotion.[d]

XI. Where was the religion of the church of England before

[d] See Part. II. Chapter VI.

the Reformation, that is, where was there any society of professing Christians in which the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles were acknowledged and approved?

Answer. The doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles was that of the universal church before the Reformation; for all that is of faith in those Articles was of faith in the catholic church; and all that is of opinion, was also matter of opinion in the catholic church.

XII. Papists do not admit that the members of the British churches can be saved, while the latter allow that papists can be saved. Therefore it is plain that there is greater safety in the papal communion.

Answer. The argument ought to be directly reversed, thus. Papists allow that the members of the church can be saved. *They* cannot allow that papists are in the way of salvation. Therefore the communion of the church is safer than that of the papal schism. I prove the two first propositions thus. (1.) Papists allow that we can be saved. Dr. Milner says: "Catholic divines and the holy fathers, at the same time that they strictly insist on the necessity of adhering to the doctrine and communion of the catholic church, make an express exception in favour of what is termed invincible ignorance; which occurs when persons out of the true church are sincerely and firmly resolved, in spite of all worldly allurements on the one hand, and of all opposition on the other, to enter into it, if they can find it out, and when they use their best endeavours for this purpose. . . .Our great controvertist, Bellarmine, asserts that such Christians, in virtue of the disposition of their hearts, belong to the catholic church."[e] Accordingly, he elsewhere says, that "all the young children who have been baptized" in the church of England, &c. "and all invincibly ignorant Christians who externally adhere to them, really belong to the ca-

[e] End of Controversy, letter xviii. The same doctrine of the salvability of some of those who are externally separated from the Roman communion, is taught by Dr. Bishop, a noted Romanist, cited by archbishop Bramhall, Works, p. 100.

tholic church."[f] (2.) On the other hand, the church of England excommunicates any one who shall dare to affirm that the Romish community in these countries is a true church;[g] and as we therefore cannot allow Romanists to be in the church, and as we have no right to admit that any persons out of the church are, or can be in the way of salvation,[h] it is plain that there is much the greatest safety in adhering to our communion, in which alone both parties allow that salvation may be obtained.

XIII. The church of England, in acknowledging the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king, renounces the commission given by Christ to his apostles; and her ministers derive all their authority from the Crown, which has at various times made ordinances with regard to ecclesiastical matters, worship, discipline, &c., and thus usurped the church's office. Consequently there is no apostolical ministry in the church of England.

Answer. As this is the grand argument of papists against our churches, I shall endeavour to answer it here in such a manner as shall help to close their mouths on the subject. (1.) I must *insist* upon it, that the *principles of the church of England* with reference to the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs, cannot be determined in any way by the opinions of lawyers, or the preambles of acts of parliament. We no where subscribe to either one or the other. (2.) The opinion of the Temporal Power itself, as to its own authority in ecclesiastical affairs, and its acts in accordance with such opinions, are perfectly distinct from the principles of the church of England on these points. We are not bound to adopt such opinions, or approve such acts of temporal rulers, nor even to approve every point of the existing law. (3.) The clergy of England, in acknowledging the supremacy of the king, A.D. 1531, did so, as Burnet proves, with the important

[f] Milner, letter xxvi.

[g] Canon x.

[h] Chapter I. section iii.

proviso, "*quantum per Christi legem licet;*" which *original condition is ever to be supposed* in our acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. Consequently we give no authority to the prince, except what is consistent with the maintenance of all those rights, liberties, jurisdictions, and spiritual powers, which "the law of Christ" confers on his church. (4.) The church of England believes the jurisdiction and commission of her clergy to come from God, by apostolical succession, as is evident from the Ordination Services, and has been *proved* by the papist Milner himself (Letters to a Prebendary, lett. viii); and it is decidedly the doctrine of the great majority of her theologians. (5.) The acts of English monarchs have been objected in proof of *their* views on the subject. We are not bound to subscribe to those views. If their acts were wrong in any case, we never approved them, though we may have been obliged by circumstances to submit to intrusions and usurpations. But since this is a favourite topic with Romanists, let us view the matter a little on another side. I ask then, whether the parliaments of France did not for a long series of years, exercise jurisdiction over the *administration of the sacraments*, compelling the Roman bishops and priests of France to give the sacraments to Jansenists, whom they believed to be heretics? Did they not repeatedly judge in questions of *faith*, viz. as to the obligation of the Bull "Unigenitus"? Did they not take cognizance of questions of faith and discipline to such a degree, that they were said to resemble "a school of theology?" I ask whether the clergy of France in their convocations, were not *wholly* under the control of the king, who could proscribe their subjects of debate, prevent them from debating, prorogue, dissolve, &c. Did they not repeatedly *beg in vain* from the kings of France, for a long series of years, to be permitted to hold provincial synods for the suppression of immorality, heresy, and infidelity? Is not this liberty still withheld from them, and from every other Roman church in Europe? I further ask, whether the emperor Joseph II. did not *enslave* the churches of Germany and Italy; whether he did not sup-

press monasteries *suppress* and *unite bishoprics*, whether he did not *suspend* the bishops from *conferring orders*, exact from them oaths of obedience to *all his measures* present and *future*, issue royal decrees for *removing images from churches*, and for the regulation of divine worship down to the minutest points, even to the number of candles at mass? Whether he did not take on himself to *silence preachers* who had declaimed against persons of unsound faith? Whether he did not issue decrees against the Bull "Unigenitus," thus interfering with the *doctrinal* decisions of the whole Roman church? I ask whether this conduct was not accurately imitated by the grand duke of Tuscany, the king of Naples, the duke of Parma? whether it did not become prevalent in almost every part of the Roman church, and whether its effects do not continue to the present day? I again ask whether "Organic Articles" were not enacted by Buonaparte in the new Gallican church, which placed *every thing* in ecclesiastical affairs under the government? Whether the bishops were not forbidden by law to *confer orders* without the permission of government? Whether the obvious intention was not to place the priests, even in their *spiritual functions*, under the civil powers? And in fine, whether those obnoxious "Organic Articles" are not, up to the present day, in almost every point, in force? I again inquire whether the order of Jesuits was not *suppressed* by the mere civil powers, in Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, &c.; whether convents, monasteries, confraternities, friars, and monks, and nuns, of every sort and kind, were not extinguished, suppressed, annihilated by *royal commissions*, and by the temporal power, in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sicily, Spain, Portugal, &c. &c.; and in opposition to the petitions and protests of the pope and the bishops? I again ask whether the king of Sicily does not in his "Tribunal of the Monarchy," up to the present day, try *ecclesiastical causes*, censure, excommunicate, absolve? Whether this tribunal did not in 1712 *give absolution* from episcopal excommunications; and whether it was not restored by Benedict XIII. in 1728? Is there a

Roman church on the continent of Europe, where the clergy can communicate freely with him whom they regard as their spiritual head; or where all papal bulls, rescripts, briefs, &c. are not subjected to a rigorous *surveillance* on the part of government, and allowed or disallowed at its *pleasure?* In fine, has not Gregory XVI. himself been compelled in his Encyclical Letter of 1832, to utter the most vehement complaints and lamentations, at the degraded condition of the Roman Obedience? Does he not confess that the church is "subjected to *earthly considerations*," "*reduced to a base servitude*," "the rights of its bishops *trampled on?*" These are all certain facts: I appeal in proof of them to the Roman historians, and to many other writers of authority;[i] and they form but a *part* of what might be said on this subject. Romanists should blush to accuse the church of England for the acts of our civil rulers in ecclesiastical matters. They should remember those words: "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

But it will be objected, all this was contrary at least to the principles of the Roman church, while English theologians, on the contrary, exaggerate the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs. I admit unequivocally, that some of our theologians have spoken unadvisedly on this subject. But what of that? Can they have gone further than the whole school of Gallican writers, of modern canonists, and reforming theologi-

[i] See Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire Eccl. &c. xviii^e siècle; Mémoires sur les Affaires Ecclésiast. de France; La Mennais, Réflexions sur l'Eglise en France, Essai sur l'Indifference, Affaires de Rome; Mémoires Historiques sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat (by Bourgoing); Bouvier, Episc. Cenomanensis, de Vera Ecclesia, Appendix; and the "Report from the Select Committee on the regulations of Roman Catholic subjects in foreign countries" (Parliamentary Papers, 1816). This Report contains a mass of authentic documents of the highest importance, which it is impossible to find elsewhere. L'Ami de la Religion, a religious periodical, published at Paris, and which has existed ever since the restoration of the Bourbons, is also full of valuable details.

ans, in the Roman church, whose object is to overthrow the papal power, and render the church subservient in all things to the state? Do Romanists imagine that we are ignorant of the principles of Pithou and the Gallican school, of Giannone, Van Espen, Zallwein, De Honthiem, Ricci, Eybel, Stoch, Rechberger, Oberhauser, Riegger, Cavallari, Tamburini, and fifty others, who were tinged with the very principles imputed to us? Do they forget that their *clergy* in many parts have petitioned *princes* to remove the *canonical law* of celibacy? In fine, is it not well known, that there is a conspiracy among many of their theologians to subject the discipline of the church to the civil magistrate? It is really too much for Romanists to assail us, on the very points where they are themselves most vulnerable, and where they are actually most keenly suffering. Our churches, though subject to some inconveniences, and lately aggrieved by the suppression of bishoprics in Ireland, contrary to the solemn protests of the bishops and clergy, are yet in a far more respectable and independent position, than the Roman churches. Those amongst us who maintain the highest principles on the spiritual jurisdiction of the church, have reason to feel thankful, that we have not yet fallen to the level of the church of Rome.

OBJECTIONS OF DISSENTERS.

XIV. The church of England contradicts Scripture, (Eph. i. 22.) which declares that Christ alone is the head of the church; for she makes the king her head.

Answer. (1.) She does not acknowledge the king as head of the *universal* church, which alone is spoken of in that passage. (2.) She only attributes to him temporal and external authority, but no jurisdiction purely spiritual, which belongs to the ministers of God by divine institution. (3.) The church of England, as I have already said, is not bound to approve all the opinions or acts of civil governors or of lawyers; they may perhaps exaggerate the authority of temporal rulers in ecclesiastical affairs; but the church of England is not obliged to subscribe to any of

their opinions. (4.) Dissenters admit that from the time of Constantine the Great, the civil magistrate exercised various powers over the church. And not merely the unreformed churches of the East and West, but the Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, and Presbyterians, universally acted on, and adopted the principle of the authority of the civil magistrate in some ecclesiastical affairs. The Puritans of England availed themselves of the aid of the civil power; and the community of Independents alone exclaimed against all authority of the magistrate in ecclesiastical matters. From these facts I argue thus. The civil magistrates' authority was acknowledged and admitted to extend to some church matters by the universal church, and even by all sects from the age of Constantine to the seventeenth century. Therefore this admission cannot be antichristian, or unchurch any society which maintains it, for the church of Christ can never fail, and therefore can never embrace antichristian doctrine. It is utterly impossible then, that such a doctrine can be antichristian; and we may conclude, that the objection itself is founded in a schismatical principle, and evidently tends to heresy. (5.) Dissenters cannot bring this objection against the church of England, for some of their own most eminent writers, such as Owen, Gill, &c. have admitted the authority of the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical affairs. The Nonconformists of 1662 whom they praise, and from whom they even pretend to be in part spiritually descended, held occasional communion with the church of England, thereby acknowledging her a Christian church notwithstanding her recognition of the regal supremacy. And what is still more cogent is, that the ministers of *every dissenting denomination without exception, actually subscribed to the royal supremacy as explained in the Thirty-nine Articles up to the year* 1779.[k] Now if dissenters pretend that

[k] By the Act of Toleration (1 Will. and Mar. c. 18), confirmed 10 Anne, c. 2, dissenters were exempted from the penalties of the law, only on condition of their subscribing and repeating the declaration against transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, made by parlia-

the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy is antichristian, they must consign to perdition all their own predecessors; and further, as a mere act of parliament could not, by their own admission, *make* a church; so if they had previously been apostate, and no true churches; they could not have become so by the act of parliament in 1779. Such are the perplexities into which dissenters fall, in opposing themselves to the doctrine and practice of the catholic church.

XV. The church of England is merely a human institution, founded and maintained by act of parliament. Therefore it cannot be a part of the church of Christ.

Answer. I positively deny that the church of England was founded by act of parliament, and require the act to be produced which pretended to found it. If it be said that our church was founded in the time of Henry VIII., I reply by adducing the first act of parliament in the controversy between England and the Roman pontiff. The act against appeals acknowledges that "there were in the spirituality, as *there had been at all times*, men of such integrity and sufficiency, that they might determine all doubts within the kingdom," and that "the king's most noble *progenitors*, and the antecessors of the nobles of this realm, have sufficiently endowed the said church."[1] The act

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ment, 30 Car. II. c. 1. And their teachers were only qualified by making and subscribing the said declaration, and *declaring their approbation of, and subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles*, except the XXXIVth, XXXVth, and the XXXVIth, and except also those words of the XXth article "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." No objection was allowed to the XXXVIIth Article, concerning the civil magistrate, including the doctrine of the royal supremacy.—See Grey's Eccl. Law, p. 170—172. Anabaptist teachers were obliged to perform the same conditions: except that they were excused from subscribing the XXVIIth Article, concerning infant baptism. Quakers were obliged to subscribe the above declaration, a declaration of fidelity to the king, and of his *supremacy*; and a profession of their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity, and the inspiration of the Scripture.—Ibid.

[1] Burnet's Reformation, vol. i. p. 232. (Oxford ed. 1816.)

for the royal supremacy declared, that the king had been acknowledged supreme head of the church of England ;[m] thereby proving that the church was already in existence ; and in fine, the act for the deprivation of Campegius and Hierome, again declares, that "before this time the church of England, by *the king's most noble progenitors*, and the nobles of the same, hath been founded, ordained, and established in the estate and degree of prelatic dignities, and other promotions spiritual," &c.[n] Therefore the church of England had been founded before the time of Henry VIII. even by the admissions of parliament itself, and not founded by *parliament*. In truth, it would have been impossible to affirm the contrary with any decency, because it is certain that the church of England was in existence a thousand years before parliaments were heard of, and many hundreds of years before there was a king of England. The perpetual existence of this church is further proved by the Magna Charta of king John, confirmed by every one of the succeeding kings of England, the first article of which guarantees the rights of "*the church of England*." In fine, it is well known to every one, that the bishops, chapters, and clergy of the present day, are, in the eye of the law, the legitimate successors of those who lived six hundred years ago ; and that legal evidence of their rights at *that time*, is in many cases offered and admitted in proof of the rights of the present incumbents. Therefore it is altogether ridiculous to pretend, that the church was founded by the civil power in the reign of Henry VIII., Edward VI., or Elizabeth. (2.) As to the *maintenance* and support of the church of England, her property, institutions, &c. by law, the dissenters themselves are protected in the same manner. This was lately exemplified in the case of Lady Hewley's Charity. The dissenters deeming its funds misapplied to the support of a religion different from that designed by the foundress, petition the king's court of equity to judge this doctrinal fact, and to transfer the

[m] Burnet's Reformation, vol. i. p. 205. vol. iii. p. 90—92.

[n] 25 Hen. VIII. act. v. See Burnet's Records, vol. i. part ii. p. 189.

property to the right hands. They succeed, and enter without scruple on the possession of what *the law* has given to them. The Roman and Greek churches are equally protected by the civil authorities in their respective localities: and it is certain that in all ages from the time of Constantine, the greater part of the universal church has been supported, and its regulations enforced by the additional authority of Christian princes.

XVI. The imposition of creeds and articles of faith is an invasion of the kingly prerogative of Christ, and is antichristian. Consequently the church of England cannot be a church of Christ.

Answer. If it be antichristian to impose creeds and articles of faith, it must be equally antichristian to *subscribe* them. but all dissenting ministers whatever, up to the year 1779, *subscribed the Articles and Creed of the church of England.*[o] Therefore they must, on this principle, have been antichristian; and what are we to think of all the dissenting churches which communicated with them, in which they presided, and which are derived from them? Nor is this all. The very act of 1779 compelled them to declare solemnly their belief in the inspiration of Scripture, to take the oath of *supremacy*, and make the declaration against transubstantiation, &c.[p] So that they were still involved in the very same practices which they object to us; and, for aught I know, may continue so to the present day. How utterly absurd therefore is such an objection in their mouths against the church of England! Besides, it is well known that they themselves exact professions of faith from their ministers before ordination.[q]

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[o] By the Act of Toleration, 1 Will. and Mary, c. 18, above alluded to.

[p] Adam's Religious World, vol. iii. p. 40.

[q] "We conceive the conduct of those bodies which require a specific confession of faith from the individual who is proposed as their instructor, while they do not previously prescribe a certain fixed and systematic standard of sentiment as the sine qua non—most accordant with Scripture, reason, and the interests of the church of Christ."—Library of Eccl. Knowledge (Re-

XVII. The church of England cannot be a Christian church, because she does not maintain apostolical discipline in the censure and expulsion of such members as offend against the laws of Christian sanctity.

Answer. (1.) The church of England does so, at least in principle. No laws can more strictly enjoin discipline than the canons of 1603, and her ministers are directed to refuse the Sacrament to notorious offenders. However, it must always require judgment and caution to apply such severe remedies, and if the conversion of sinners can be accomplished by the milder method of persuasion, it is on all accounts much more desirable. Yet instances do occur occasionally, when this discipline is put in force, though it must be acknowledged that the wishes of the church are not fully attended to in these respects. But, however this may be, it is certain that dissenters cannot consistently deny the church of England to be a true church, because discipline is neglected by some of her members; for, (2.) Dissenters are liable to the very same objection themselves. They acknowledge that in their own churches the same or greater defects of discipline exist: "A much greater evil, however, is to be found in the retaining of persons as *church-members*, when their character plainly unfits them for such a station. Instances have not been wanting in which persons of NOTORIOUS IMMORALITY, such as habitual drunkards and others, have remained in undisturbed possession of their membership; while in other cases there has been manifested a considerable unwillingness to inquire into accusations, to bring faults to light, and to act with consistency and decision upon them when proved."[r] Now,

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ligious Creeds, p. 127). In short, we are apostate, because our clergy are required to confess the faith in the church's words: dissenters are Christians because their ministers are required to make the same confession in their own words. The question of Christianity does not in the least depend on doctrine but on the far more important consideration of the right of extemporary composition.

[r] Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 185. Essays on Ch. Polity.

though it is manifest that several of their churches are thus deficient in discipline, yet they are still considered by dissenters as Christian churches; nor do we hear of any inquiry into the conduct of particular churches in this respect, nor of the exclusion of any one of them from the communion of the remainder. Therefore it is plain that dissenters are inconsistent in denying the church of England to be a true church for similar defects of discipline; and the simple fact, that what is tolerable in themselves, is regarded as a crime in us, proves that they are guided in their opposition to the church by mere prejudice and love of controversy.

XVIII. The ordinations of the British clergy being derived from the popish and antichristian church, cannot be apostolical or Christian. Therefore the British church cannot be a true church, having no true ministry.

Answer. The ordinations of the church of England are derived by a regular succession within herself in all ages from the apostles. But I have already denied that this church ever fell into heresy or apostacy, though for a time abuses prevailed to a certain degree among us. The chief objections to the Christianity of the Western churches before the reformation, will be considered in the next chapter.

XIX. The church of England cannot be a true church, for all the baptisms of her members are invalid, infant baptism being contrary to the institution of Christ.

Answer. A difficulty of this kind, raised by a mere handful of professing Christians, in opposition to the judgment and practice of the church and of all sects, in all ages, from the beginning, is not worthy of attention. We may refuse all controversy on the subject, for, as St. Augustine says, "Si quid horum tota per orbem frequentat ecclesia . . . quin ita faciendum sit, disputare, insolentissimæ insaniæ est."[s] In fact, there cannot be a more certain mark of heresy and apostacy from Christ, than such a condemnation of what the church in all ages has

[s] Augustinus, epist. 54. alias 118. tom. ii. p. 126.

received and approved. If infant baptism render our churches apostate, all churches must have been so for many ages, and therefore the church of Christ must have entirely perished, contrary to the promises of holy Scripture.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. X.

ON INDIFFERENCE IN RELIGION.

One of the common objections of Romanists against the church of England is founded on the existence of religious indifference among some of her members, or the persuasion that all sects and doctrines are equally secure, and that no particular belief or communion is necessary to salvation. Bossuet, Milner, and others, have asserted that this system is extensively prevalent amongst us, and have employed it as a proof that our churches are not Christian.

The origin of religious indifference may be traced indirectly to the denial of all church authority, and the assertion of the unlimited right of private judgment, which arose among the Socinians,[t] and were sometimes incautiously maintained even by members of the foreign reformed societies; whence the Independents and dissenters also derived them. It is plain however, that although, in the imagined exigencies of controversy for defence of the truth, some individuals during the time of the Reformation, may have let fall expressions, which, in their legitimate consequences, might actually remove the necessity of adhering to particular tenets, those consequences were not known or allowed by them; for all the Reformed communities subscribed and imposed Confessions of faith, in

[t] Mosheim says, they "permit every one to follow his particular fancy in composing his theological system, provided they acknowledge in general the truth and authenticity of the history of Christ, and adhere to the precepts the Gospel lays down for the regulation of our lives and actions."—Eccl. Hist. cent. xvi. sect. 3. part ii. ch. 4. s. 16.

which the absolute necessity of believing certain doctrines is asserted, and heretics are consigned to perdition. There can be no doubt indeed, that in the sixteenth century, any one who had advanced openly the doctrine of indifference, would have been regarded by the reformed as an infidel, and most probably experienced the fate of Servetus.[u] Chillingworth, in the vain attempt to defend on common principles, all who were separated from the Roman church, and in practically denying to the church all authority in matters of faith, leaving each man to form his own religion from the Bible only, by his independent inquiries, removed some of the strongest barriers against the intrusion of heresy;[v] and his principle, that Scripture was so clear in all necessary matters, that he who received it as his rule of faith, could not be a heretic, opened a way for the doctrine of indifference. Still, as Chillingworth did not draw the conclusions which led to this result, and as his work contained acute though unsound arguments, in favour of what people wished to defend, it obtained a more considerable name than it deserved; and his arguments were unsuspectingly adopted by many, who

[u] The dissenters observe of the "first reformers," that "the views they entertained of the constitution of the church were deficient in some important respects. The right of the civil magistrate to *control* its proceedings, and to visit the delinquencies of its members with temporal inflictions, was *very generally* admitted. The *terms of fellowship* were rendered narrower and more sectarian, than in the primitive church. *Uniformity of opinion*, rather than unity of spirit was sought; and public *formularies* and systems of faith had an importance attached to them, superior to that with which the word of God, in many cases appeared to be invested. As the natural result of such views, measures were adopted for the *suppression of what was esteemed heresy*, and the defence and extension of the *truth* over which piety must ever mourn."—Library of Eccl. Knowledge (Correct Views of the Ch. p. 21). After this, it is strange the dissenters can pretend that they hold the principles of the Reformation.

[v] Whether Chillingworth himself was tainted with the Arian heresy or not, is a matter of dispute; but it is certain that he has been the idol of Arians and Socinians, as well as of other dissenters. Micaiah Towgood, an Arian, in his Defence of Dissent, extols him most highly.

would have shrunk with horror from the conclusions which others afterwards deduced from them. The history of indifference, in England, properly begins with Hoadly; who, in the early part of the eighteenth century, first rendered this system known. The doctrines maintained by him and his disciples, were as follows:

I. That the true church of Christ being invisible, it is not a matter of necessity to be of any particular visible church.

II. That Christ being the only lawgiver and judge in his church, there is no other authority in the church in matters of faith and practice, affecting salvation. That it is therefore needless to hold any particular creed or interpretation of Scripture, and sinful to require from others the belief of any.

III. That sincerity, or our own persuasion of the correctness of our opinions (whether well or ill founded), is the only condition of acceptance with God.

IV. That the apostolical succession of the clergy, ministerial benedictions, and generally the sacraments and rites of the church, are trifling, ridiculous, or unnecessary.

V. That Christ's kingdom not being of this world, all temporal support of the church is contrary to the Gospel.

These were really the doctrines of Hoadly, as may be easily seen by any one who reads his "Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ," and his "Preservative against the principles, &c. of Nonjurors;" though he endeavoured to explain away his expressions, when in danger of punishment.[w] The fifth position was not generally sustained by his disciples, but was adopted by the dissenters, and forms the *whole basis of their argument against church establishments*. Their arguments in favour of dissent, and against the church of England, are altogether derived from the preceding principles of Hoadly.[x]

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[w] They were ably refuted by Law, in his three "Letters to Hoadly," and by a multitude of orthodox theologians.

[x] Micaiah Towgood on Dissent, and all the modern dissenters, take no other ground. They prove that the Church of England *does* claim au-

Those principles were deemed so objectionable and dangerous, by the Convocation of the church of England, that a committee of the lower house was appointed, in order to select propositions from Hoadly's writings, and procure his censure by regular authority; but before his trial could take place, the Convocation was prorogued by an arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative, and has not been permitted to deliberate since. So strongly were the clergy opposed to indifference, and so apprehensive were the government of their resolution in respect to Hoadly.

Blackburn, in his anonymous book, "The Confessional," published in 1766, carried out these principles most fully; contending, that the imposition of creeds and Articles of Faith, was an infringement on Christ's office, a usurpation, and a revolt; that it was *unlawful to submit to it;* that the church of England was inconsistent in requiring assent to any Creeds, Articles, &c. and that each individual may, if he pleases, separate from all religions and all churches on earth! That Blackburn was obliged to conceal his name, is another proof of the general and strong sentiment of the church of England;[y] and

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thority in matters of religion. They exaggerate the authority of the temporal magistrate, in relation to the church; and thence, on Hoadley's principles, argue that it is unlawful to communicate with us. They also expressly cite Hoadly and his disciples, in proof of dissenting principles. Not only the dissenters, but the Romanists were supported by Hoadley's errors. The acute controversialist, Milner, says: "It is an incontestable fact, that Bishop Hoadly has surrendered a great part of the leading points of controversy, which the 'catholic' authors of the two preceding centuries had loaded the shelves of libraries in endeavouring to prove. Your most learned and able writers have seen and lamented the event."—Letters to a Prebendary, lett. viii. It would be easy to show the correctness of this statement. Hoadly's doctrine on the eucharist was directly Socinian, as Bishop Cleaver remarked in his Sermon on the Sacrament, before the University of Oxford, Nov. 25, 1787. (2nd ed. p. 7.) However, if we have had a Hoadly, Romanists have had a Soanen, a Ricci, a de Hontheim, a Geddes, and a Voltaire, as we shall see.

[y] The judgment of the dissenters, as to his doctrine, was unequivocally manifested. The dissenting congregation in the Old Jewry, on the death

an additional proof was afforded in 1772, when, some clergy having been so far deluded as to petition parliament to be exempted from subscription to the Articles, their request was refused.[z] A few writers, in later times, carried these views to a still greater length; affirming, though still with no small degree of caution, that truth in religion is merely the opinion of each individual; that all theological doctrines are human inventions; that Revelation contains no doctrine, but is merely a collection of historical facts, or a code of ethics; that all religions are equally safe; and, that no religious errors *whatever* ought to be censured or condemned.[a] This class of doctrines was again condemned, in the writings of Dr. Hampden, by the University of Oxford, in 1836.

The system of religious indifference has, however, only been avowed by a mere handful of persons; and although they have embraced some of its positions, they do not apparently, as yet, draw the conclusions, which would at once open the door to infidelity. If all existing doctrines, ordinances, worships, and communions, are matters of indifference, and we may adopt any or none, according to our individual taste or choice, whether well or ill-directed; if all are equally *safe;* then we cannot be far from the conclusion, that all are equally true and equally

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of Dr. Chandler, their minister, who was an *Arian*, actually invited Blackburn to be his successor.

[z] Lindsey, Disney, Jebb, Wakefield, Evanson, and other Socinians, in despair of effecting any alteration in the church of England, avowed their heresy, and separated from her communion.

[a] It will be curious to contrast these maxims of modern philosophy, with the conduct and principles of the Reformation. (See Chapter XII. sect. iii.) The well-known proposition of one of these writers, that all existing sects should be united in one church and communion, *retaining* all their peculiar doctrines and practices, was, however apparently absurd, based on the principle, that all doctrines are equally safe. This proposal had at least no novelty to recommend it. M. d'Huisseau, protestant minister at Saumur, in the 17th century, published a "Réunion du Christianisme," on the system of universal toleration, without excluding any heretics, not even Socinians. He was deposed from his office in consequence.

false; and, therefore, that Christianity itself must be either obsolete or fabulous. What other conclusion can follow, if it is not necessary to believe any particular, definite, doctrine; if all that is said to exist of Christian faith and morality, may be disputed, denied, or maintained at pleasure? Christianity can on these principles be nothing but one philosophy amongst the many, or rather one *name*, under which all imaginable contradictions and falsehoods may find refuge.

But, to meet the objection of our adversaries, as to the existence of such opinions, I would observe, first, that the Romanist Milner himself has fully proved, that Hoadly's tenets were entirely opposed to the religion of the church of England;[b] and it is plain, that his school were so far from being friendly to this church, that they justified all sects who separated from her, and in return were hailed by them as friends and auxiliaries, threw contempt on her ordinances, accused her of inconsistency and actual impiety, in prescribing the belief of Scriptural and apostolical doctrines, and engaged in a crusade against her Creeds and Articles. Therefore, there is no community of interest or faith between the church of England and indifference, which are as much opposed as light and darkness. Secondly, the church was only prevented by the interference of the civil powers, from extirpating indifference when it first showed itself; and as it has only occasionally arisen since, so it has, on two several occasions, been checked by the arm of authority. Thirdly, the catholic church was obliged to endure the presence of the Arian heresy, during the greater part of the fourth century, during which it struggled to free itself from that infidelity. And it is admitted, by Romanists themselves, that the church is often obliged, by various good motives, to tolerate heretics for a time; but that she does not regard them as her children. Fourthly, the Roman churches themselves are *infected with the very same evil*, for we learn from the encyclical letter of Gregory XVI. A.D. 1832, that *indifference*

[b] Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, lett. viii.

prevails among them to a great extent.[c] Fifthly, those who hold the doctrines of indifference, are as few in number, in proportion to the church generally, as the Arians were at the council of Nice; and their doctrine would have perished long ago, but for the support of the civil magistrate. For, through the merciful protection of God, the clergy and people of our churches have no inclination for sceptical principles even under a disguise, but remain deeply rooted and grounded in the simplicity of faith. We may say, with the holy martyr Cyprian: "Nec vos moveat, fratres dilectissimi, si apud quosdam in novissimis temporibus, aut lubrica fides nutat, aut Dei timor irreligiosus vacillat, aut pacifica concordia non perseverat. Prænunciata sunt hæc futura in sæculi fine .... Viderit vel prævaricatorum numerus vel proditorum, qui nunc in ecclesia contra ecclesiam surgere, et fidem pariter ac veritatem labefactare cœperunt. Permanet apud *plurimos* sincera mens et religio integra, et non nisi Domino et Deo suo anima devota, nec Christianam fidem aliena perfidia deprimit ad ruinam, sed magis *excitat et exaltat* ad gloriam; secundum quod beatus Apostolus Paulus hortatur et dicit: Quid enim si exciderunt a fide quidam eorum, nunquid infidelitas illorum fidem Dei evacuavit? Absit."[d]

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[c] See the following Chapter.

[d] Cyprianus, Epist. ad Clerum et Plebes, in Hispania, de Basilide et Mart. p. 167. ed. Pamel.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE CHURCHES OF THE ROMAN OBEDIENCE.

There are four questions for consideration with regard to the churches and societies of the Roman Obedience. First; whether they continued to be churches of Christ up to the Reformation? Secondly: whether they remained churches of Christ after the Reformation? Thirdly: whether they constitute exclusively the catholic church? Fourthly: whether all their societies are free from schism and heresy? Of the churches and societies in communion with Rome, some are of ancient foundation, viz. those of Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Poland. Some are of modern foundation, viz. those of South America, Mexico, part of the West Indies, two or three in India, the Philippine Islands, and China. Others, of which I shall hereafter speak, have been formed within the jurisdiction of the catholic churches of the East and of Britain.

SECTION I.

WHETHER THE WESTERN CHURCHES CONTINUED TO BE CHURCHES OF CHRIST TILL THE REFORMATION.

I only speak now and in the two next sections, of the Roman churches which have not been founded within the jurisdiction of other churches, and of these I maintain, that they continued to be churches of Christ up to the period of the Reformation.

Every one admits that the Western churches were, in the earliest ages, churches of Christ. They were in communion with all the apostolical churches of the East, and with the great apostolical church of Rome. They continued in communion with the East, till the eleventh century, and afterwards. In fine, no period can be assigned at which they ceased to be churches of Christ. Scarcely anything can be objected to them during these ages, which would not apply equally to the

Eastern church. Their union with the civil power could not render them apostate, because the whole church would equally have been apostate, and that would be contrary to Christ's promises. For the same reason their connection with the see of Rome could not make them apostate, for the whole catholic church, until the eleventh century, communicated with that see. They possessed every external mark of the Christian church, and were regularly continued from age to age by the ordinations of clergy and the admission of new members by baptism. They maintained the same creeds which the universal church had sanctioned, adhered to the definitions of faith made by the catholic church, continued the use of rites which we believe to descend from the apostles. On what reasonable ground therefore can it be pretended, that the Western churches did not continue always to be churches of Christ? It is confessed that some doctrinal errors, and some superstitious practices, prevailed in them in latter ages; but it has been already observed, that the existence of some faults and imperfections by no means annuls the character of a church;[a] and, as in the present case, it arose from want of information and discussion, and besides *no article of the faith*[b] appears to have been denied or corrupted by these churches in general, there seems no reason whatever to dispute their Christianity.

In fact, this has been admitted by all wise and charitable men. The Lutherans repeatedly acknowledged that the Ro-

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[a] See above, Chapter V. section iii.

[b] The Confession of Augsburg says of the Lutheran doctrine: "There is nothing in it, which differs from the Scriptures or the catholic church, or the *Roman church* as far as is known from her writers."—Confess. August. Pars i. art. 22. And elsewhere: "Since the churches among us differ concerning no *article of faith* (de nullo articulo fidei) from the catholic church, but only omit some *abuses*, which are novel, and received contrary to the canons, by the fault of the times," &c.—Pars ii. prolog. This Confession of Augsburg was received by the Calvinists about 1557, and at the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561. See also Archbishop Bramhall, Replication to the bishop of Chalcedon.—Works, p. 151.

man church even in their time was a Christian church.[c] Luther himself reckons Bernard, Francis, and Bonaventure among the saints, though they lived in the Western church during the middle ages.[d] The Apology of the Confession of Augsburg reckons Bernard and Francis as saints.[e] In the Confession of Augsburg, the character and authority of the catholic, and even the Roman church are acknowledged.[f] Luther himself, in 1534, seventeen years after he had begun his career, acknowledged, most unequivocally, the Christianity of the churches in obedience to Rome. "That true church of Christ," he says, "the pillar and ground of the truth, is the holy place wherein the abomination stands. And in this church God miraculously and powerfully preserved baptism; moreover, in the public pulpits and Lord's day sermons, he preserved the text of the Gospel in the language of every nation; besides remission of sins and absolution, as well in confession as in public. Again the sacrament of the altar, which at Easter time, and twice or thrice in the year, they offered to Christians, though deprived of one species. Fifth, vocation and ordination to parishes, and the ministry of the word, the keys to bind and loose, and to console in the agony of death. For among many this custom was observed, that those who were in their last agony were shown the image of Christ crucified, and admonished of the death and blood of Christ. Then, by a divine miracle, there remained in the church, the Psalter, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments. Likewise many pious and excellent hymns, as well Latin as German, such as, 'Veni Sancte Spiritus,' and 'Emitte lucis tuæ radium,' &c. These hymns were left to posterity by truly spiritual and

[c] This appears by their continual appeals to a general council, and their protests that they did not separate from the Roman church. See the next chapter, sect. i.

[d] Lutheri Theses, 1522, Oper. tom. i. p. 377, &c.; De Abrog. Missæ Priv. tom. ii. p. 258, 259; De Votis Mon. ibid. 271. 278.

[e] Apolog. Conf. August. De vot. Mon. 21.

[f] Ut supra.

Christian men, though oppressed by tyranny. Wherever were these truly sacred relics, the relics of holy men, there was and is the true, holy church of Christ, and therein remained the saints of Christ; for all these are ordinances and fruits of Christ, except the forcible removal of one species from Christians. In this church of Christ therefore the Spirit of Christ was certainly present, and preserved true knowledge and true faith in his elect. These relics indeed were but small, and the true church lay miserably injured and oppressed by the tyranny and infinite deceptions of the false church .... The miserable, afflicted, and oppressed church was to *be pardoned* by God, because one species of the sacrament was taken away from her, unwilling and captive, and denied to her. If even the elect and saints lived all their lives in infirmity and error, yet in death He liberated them as it were from the furnace of Babylon, such as St. Bernard, Gregory, Bonaventure."[g]

How charitable, and at the same time how rational are these sentiments. But such notions are not limited to Luther, they are those of the church of England, and of all her most eminent divines. The several formularies of doctrine published by authority in the reign of Henry VIII., acknowledged the churches of the Roman Obedience to be parts of the catholic church.[h] The canons of 1603 speak of the othern Western unreformed churches in such terms, as evidently imply a recognition of them as still Christian, though in some respects fallen from their ancient integrity or *perfection*. "It was so far from the purpose of the church of England to forsake and

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[g] Lutherus, de Missa Privata, tom. vii. p. 236, 237.

[h] "The Institution of a Christian Man," approved by twenty-one bishops in 1537, acknowledges the churches of Rome, France, Spain, &c. to be members of the catholic church. (Formularies of Faith, Oxford ed. p. 55.) The "Necessary Doctrine," approved by the bishops in 1543, includes in the catholic church the particular churches of England, Spain, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and Rome. (Ibid. p. 247.) See also Part II. Chap. II.

reject the *churches* of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any other *such like churches*, in all things which they held and practised; that, as the Apology of the church of England confesseth, it doth *with reverence* retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those *particular points* wherein they were fallen both from *themselves* in their *ancient integrity*, and from the apostolical churches which were their first founders."[i] In strict accordance with these principles, it is maintained by our theologians, that the churches of the West continually remained a portion of Christ's catholic church, up to the period of the Reformation. Dr. Field says: "Touching the Latin church likewise, we are of the same opinion, that it continued still a part of the catholic church, notwithstanding the manifold abuses and superstitions which in time crept into it, and the dangerous and damnable false doctrine, that *some* taught and defended in the midst of it."[k] Bishop Hall teaches the same: "The Latin or Western church, subject to the Roman tyranny, was a *true church*, in which a saving profession of the truth of Christ was found."[l] Archbishop Ussher, in reply to the question, "Where was your church before Luther?" says: "Our church was even there where now it is. In all places of the world where the ancient foundations were retained, and those common principles of faith, upon the profession whereof men have ever been wont to be admitted by baptism into the church of Christ; there we doubt not but our Lord had his subjects, and we our fellow-servants. For we bring in no new faith, nor *no new church*." In reply to the question, "What we may judge of our forefathers who lived in the communion of the church of Rome?" he says: "I answer that we have *no reason* to think otherwise, but that they lived and died under the mercy of God. For *we must distinguish the papacy from the church wherein it is*,

[i] Canon xxx.

[k] Field, Of the Church, book iii. ch. 6.

[l] Hall, Of the Old Religion, p. 202.

as the apostle doth antichrist from the temple of God wherein he sitteth."[m] He shows elsewhere, that the ordinary instruction appointed to be given in those ages to men on their death-beds was, that they should "put their whole trust in the death of Christ:" "trust in no other thing, confide themselves entirely to his death, cover themselves with it;" "place the death of the Lord Jesus Christ between themselves and God's judgment;" "offer the merit of his most worthy passion instead of the merit which they had not themselves."[n] Among other theologians who maintained the Christianity of the Western churches before the Reformation, were Hooker, Bramhall, Laud, Chillingworth, Hammond, &c. Dr. Field cites Calvin, Bucer, Melancthon, Beza, Philip Mornay, as all acknowledging, in a certain sense, that the Western churches before the Reformation were really churches of Christ, though oppressed by the papacy, and by several superstitions.[o] Calvin, however, contradicts himself on this matter in his Institutions.[p]

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[m] Sermon before the King, on Eph. iv. 13.

[n] Usser. de Christian. Eccl. Successione et Statu, c. 7. sect. 21, 22.

[o] Of the Church, Appendix, part iii. p. 880.

[p] He says, (Lib. iv. c. 2. sect. 1, 2.) "Si vera Ecclesia columna est ac firmamentum veritatis, *certum* est *non esse ecclesiam*, ubi regnum occupavit mendacium et falsitas. In eum modum quum res habeat sub Papismo, intelligere licet *quid ecclesiæ illic supersit*," &c. Certainly nothing can be clearer. But at the end of the chapter he says: "Antichristum in templo Dei sessurum prædixerunt Daniel et Paulus; illius scelerati et abominandi regni ducem et antesignanum apud nos facimus Romanum Pontificem. Quod sedes ejus in templo Dei collocatur, ita innuitur, tale fore ejus regnum quod nec Christi nec ecclesiæ nomen aboleat. Hinc igitur patet *nos minime negare, quin sub ejus quoque tyrannide Ecclesiæ maneant.*" So manifest a variation proves, that Calvin had not thoroughly investigated this part of the subject. [This appears, too, from his very discrepant assertions concerning the corrupt Jewish church, in Lib. iv. c. 1. sect. 18, and in c. 2. sect. 10. His position concerning the Roman churches is—"Quum ecclesiæ titulum *non simpliciter volumus concedere* Papistis, *non* ideo *ecclesias apud eos esse inficiamur.*" (c. 2. sect. 12.)—and that they are not to be held "pro Ecclesii in quarum *plena* communione perstandum sit homini Christiano." (sect. 10.) Moderate enough, if it were only clear!]

SECTION II.

WHETHER THE CHURCHES OF THE ROMAN OBEDIENCE CONTINUED TO BE CHURCHES OF CHRIST AFTER THE REFORMATION.

There are different opinions as to the claim of the Roman to the title of a true church since the Reformation; and Jewel, Field, and others who deny it, are not without some probability on their side. We will suppose that in some one or more points of faith, the Roman church is actually in error. This is, at least, very possible; and to those theologians of whom I speak it appeared perfectly certain, from an actual examination of Scripture and catholic tradition. We will then suppose this to be the case, and if so, then there is a strong apparent probability that the Roman Obedience is in heresy, because it seems that those errors against faith were defended with the greatest pertinacity, after abundant discussion and information; and that Romanists proceeded so far as to excommunicate, and most cruelly persecute those who defended the truth. Under these circumstances it cannot be wondered at, that, in the opinion of many persons, the churches of the Roman obedience were heretical and apostate: nor can we blame those who judged from such circumstances. There was not even any intolerable inconvenience in the supposition, because the true church would still have subsisted in the East and West, though in some parts of it, in a shattered and disorganized state.

But to me it appears infinitely safer and more charitable, to prefer the opinion of the majority of theologians, who consider the Roman churches, though in several respects faulty and corrupted in doctrine and discipline, yet still to continue a portion of the catholic church of Christ. Hooker reckons among the errors of the Presbyterian or Puritan schismatics in his time, their "suffering indignation at the faults of the church of Rome, to blind and withhold their judgments from seeing that, which withal they should acknowledge, concerning so much neverthe-

less still due to the same church, as to be held and reputed a part of the house of God, a limb of the visible church of Christ."[q] And he elsewhere says, that "touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ;" and that: "As there are which make the church of Rome utterly no church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous errors in her doctrines; so we have them amongst us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the church of England itself."[r]

Archbishop Laud, in his controversy with the Jesuit, says: "I granted the Roman church to be a true church; for so much very learned Protestants have acknowledged before me; and the truth cannot deny it." He refers for proofs to Hooker, Junius, Reynold, and even the Separatist Fr. Johnson.[s] Dr. Hammond says: "As we exclude no Christian from our communion that will either filially or fraternally embrace it with us, being ready to admit any to our assemblies, that acknowledge the foundation laid by Christ and his apostles; so we as earnestly desire to be admitted to the like freedom of external communion with all the members of all other Christian churches . . . and would most willingly, by the use of the ancient method of *literæ communicatoriæ*, maintain this communion with those with whom we cannot corporally assemble, and particularly with those which live in obedience to the church of Rome."[t] Bramhall, Andrewes, Chillingworth, Tillotson, Burnet, &c. might also be cited in acknowledgment that the Roman is still a portion of the catholic church, though infected with several errors.

This appears infinitely the more probable opinion, and the objection, which was stated at the beginning, and which led to the contrary conclusion, may be answered without difficulty. That the Romanists were not obstinately pertinacious, and

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[q] Works, ii. 478. Edit. Keble.

[r] Works, i. 438.

[s] Conference, s. 20. nu. 3.

[t] Of Schism, ch. ix. s. 3.

herctical, generally, in upholding the errors of the Council of Trent, I argue thus. First, they were deeply impressed with an opinion, of long standing in the Western church, that the Roman pontiff *was the divinely appointed centre of unity*, and that every one who did not communicate with him was cut off from the church. This opinion was of such antiquity, and supported by such forgeries, frauds, and usurpations, that it was difficult to perceive its error.[u] From this doctrine it followed, that the Western was the whole catholic church of Christ, and that whatever Western councils had decreed, was obediently to be received by Christians. Now some doctrines and practices rejected by the Reformation had apparently been so authorized, therefore the Romanists did not without strong reasons oppose the truth. Secondly, the doctrines, and practices of some of the reformed were apparently innovations in some cases, as being either not commonly received in the church for some time before, or as being in fact and truth innovations on very ancient customs which had been *abused*, and become inexpedient and prejudicial to piety. And many churches were afraid of innovations and changes, and deemed

[u] So deeply-rooted was this prejudice long afterwards, even in the most enlightened part of the Roman church, that the learned Du Pin, doctor of the Sorbonne, was compelled to abstain from publishing to the world his belief that non-communion with the Roman see was no proof of schism. This curious fact was discovered by Jurieu, who in his work, De l'Unité de l'Eglise, p. 211, has printed the suppressed passages of Du Pin's treatise De Antiqua Eccl. Disciplina, p. 256, where he spoke thus: "When churches or bishops break mutual peace, there may be a doubt which is in schism, and which ought to be held separated from the communion of the whole church. Some persons believe they can easily reply to this difficulty by saying, that those should be reputed schismatic and excommunicated, who were separated from the communion of the Roman church and bishop. As for me, while I doubt not that the authority of the bishop of Rome, who is the primate of the church, and therefore the centre of unity, has always been very great; I am nevertheless obliged to abandon the opinion of those who say, that all those who are separated from the Roman see, have always been reputed schismatics, and ought now to be considered such."

it most prudent to remain as they were. Thirdly, the reformed were not exempt from faults and errors themselves, in doctrine as well as discipline; and their numerous divisions naturally excited a prejudice against their system. The language of some leaders of the Reformation was too violent and harsh in relation to the Roman church, and kept alive feelings of irritation and estrangement: while the principles of unbounded liberty and license of private opinion, which at length appeared amongst the Protestants, raised an additional obstacle to the progress of truth, which it threatened ultimately to subvert. Fourthly, the reformed generally were in a difficult and unfavourable condition, from being apparently in opposition to the existing bishops and pastors of the church; and it was natural, and not blameable, that the people should prefer to adhere to their pastors, and be apprehensive of being cut off from their communion. Fifth, the Synod of Trent, though not, according to the *true* principles of the catholic church, invested with any authority strictly binding on the conscience, had yet, according to the opinions universally prevalent amongst Romanists at that time, a good title to be considered equal in authority to the ancient œcumenical councils; and therefore, though they were mistaken in point of fact,[v] they cannot fairly be accused of heresy in admitting its decrees, for they judged, on reasons of no inconsiderable strength, that it was irrefragable and infallible.

It appears to me, that these considerations should exculpate the members of the Roman church generally, from such pertinacious opposition to the evident truth, as would properly constitute heresy. It is true that their church is in error on several points, but it seems that they were prevented by so many excusable circumstances from seeing the right way, that we ought not to judge too harshly, and exclude from the church of Christ so vast a multitude of believers, so many nations, and such a crowd of ancient churches.

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[v] See Part IV. where the authority of the Synod of Trent is investigated.

That these churches should even now be regarded as churches of Christ, I argue for the following reasons. First, they have been always visible from the most remote antiquity, having existed in perpetual succession in the countries where they are found, and having never separated from any older Christian churches in those countries. Secondly, it is undeniable that these churches preserve unity of communion among themselves, both in principle and practice. They urge its necessity as a matter of religious duty, and inflict punishment on those who offend against unity. There is no evidence that they have ever been excommunicated by the majority of the catholic church, or that they have voluntarily separated from it; and if they have unjustly expelled some from their communion, it can be easily shown, that it was under the influence of preconceived opinions, or from ignorance. Thirdly, there cannot be a doubt of their zeal to maintain the unity of Christian truth; they acknowledge the authority of the universal church in faith, receive the apostolical tradition in principle, and endeavour in practice to sustain to the best of their power the catholic faith. Nor is there evidence that any of their doctrines have been ever formally and clearly condemned by the catholic church. No one pretends that they have been so; and the truth is, that many of their theologians so explain and teach the doctrines in dispute, that the difference, as represented by them, is, in most points, not considerable.[w] It is true that they esteem the synod of Trent œcumenical, and are thus tied in fact to certain errors, notwithstanding all their explanations; but I have already observed that they are excusable in this. Fourthly, they inculcate the duty of holiness, and endeavour, by a certain sort of discipline, and by religious exercises, to promote it, and it is certain that many men of genuine piety and excellence have adorned their communion. Fifthly, they are extended

[w] There is scarcely a point in debate between us, in which our doctrine might not be proved simply from Romish theologians. I have observed a thousand proofs of this.

over many countries, and *with the addition* of the Eastern and British churches, have all the catholicity which the true church can require. Sixthly, they possess a ministry descended by regular succession from the apostles. I conclude from this, that they are really to be considered churches of Christ.

SECTION III.

WHETHER THESE CHURCHES CONSTITUTE EXCLUSIVELY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF CHRIST.

The exclusive claim which Romanists make for their branch of the church, asserting that it constitutes the whole catholic church, has been adduced as affording in itself a presumption of its correctness. But it is forgotten that the Donatists and the Luciferians of old, made the very same claim for their churches, and yet no one will pretend that it afforded any presumption in their favour. The proofs by which Romish theologians attempt to sustain their position, are classed under the four heads of unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity. After what has been already said of the Oriental and the British churches, it will be seen in a moment, that most of these arguments are merely baseless assertions.

UNITY.

It is asserted that the Roman church *alone* has not separated herself from any more ancient church. She *alone* has efficacious principles calculated to preserve unity, for her principles are these—that the faith of all Christians ought always to be the same; that by the force of Christ's promises there ought always to be a tribunal for the decision of controversies in the church; and that the rewards of eternal life are only to be obtained in the church. Accordingly, the Roman church *alone* has always been inflexible in matters of faith, and never connived at schism or heresy. Her children always obey the judgments made by her infallible authority in matters of faith. Among them no disputes exist except on matters of mere

opinion, not decided by the church. In fine, she alone possesses a most efficacious principle of unity, in maintaining the Roman pontiff to be by divine appointment head of the church and the centre of unity.[x]

Answer. I deny that the Roman church alone has not separated from any more ancient church; or that she alone has the efficacious principles of unity spoken of. These are attributes equally of the Oriental and British churches, as I have shown. They do not indeed affirm, that a tribunal for the decision of controversies by irrefragable authority must always be in a state of organization, and ready to issue its decrees; because most controversies can be terminated without any such authority. But they admit that such a tribunal has been constituted before now, and will be again, whenever the Divine Head of the church shall judge it necessary to the preservation of his true faith. As to the peculiar inflexibility of the Roman Church in matters of faith, it would be impossible to prove that in this respect she stands above the rest of the church; and if she does not connive at schism and heresy, it is at least certain that there are abundance of both in her communion. The existence of JANSENISM in all parts of the Roman communion up to the present day, although it was condemned as a heresy two hundred years ago;[y] the existence of INFIDELITY and INDIFFERENCE which threaten to swallow up the faith of its members;[z] are sufficient proofs that unity of *faith* is, in a lamentably small degree, a characteristic of the Roman church, and that her own children do not acknowledge her infallibility nor her authority. The introduction of SCHISMATICS to her communion in the persons of the constitutional bishops, proves that there is no perfect unity of discipline;[a] and the very PAPAL AUTHORITY, which is represented as so efficacious a principle of unity,

[x] See Bouvier, Delahogue, Milner, Trevern, Tournely, Bailly, &c.

[y] See Appendix I. where the existence and ravages of Jansenism in the Roman churches to the present day, are proved from the confessions of Romanists.

[z] See Appendix II.

[a] See Appendix III.

is systematically and violently assailed by members of the Roman church.[b] "This our Roman See of the most blessed Peter, in which Christ laid the foundation of his church," says Gregory XVI. "is most grievously assailed; and the bonds of *unity* are daily more and more weakened and broken." He accordingly admonishes the bishops thus: "Therefore, in order to repress the audacity of those, who either dare to infringe the rights of this holy see, or to *destroy the union of the churches* with her, a union from which alone they derive support and existence, inculcate an exceeding zeal and veneration for her," &c. This last pretended principle of unity is well known to have *divided* the Eastern from the Western churches; and it continues to form the grand impediment to their reunion, as it does to the reunion of the British and Roman churches. Therefore it is a principle of division rather than of union.

SANCTITY.

Peculiar and exclusive sanctity is claimed for the Roman church on the following grounds. (1.) As she *alone* has not separated from a more ancient church, she is the very same which was founded by the apostles, and therefore *her founders* alone were holy. (2.) She alone invites her children to holiness, and affords efficacious means of sanctification in her sacraments, &c. (3) All the martyrs of Christ, all the doctors, all the saints of every age, sex, and condition belong to her only. (4.) From her alone proceeded all the missionaries and apostles of various nations. (5.) In her alone, even to the latest times, are seen missionaries, and saints whose *miracles* are admitted by all. (6.) The monastic institute is found in her only.[c]

Answer. I deny the truth of every one of these propositions. (1.) The Eastern and British churches never separated from

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[b] Appendix I. and IV.

[c] See the works of Tournely, Bailly, Delahogue, Bouvier, Collet, Milner, &c. &c.

any older churches. (2.) They equally maintain the necessity of holiness, and administer all the means of grace of divine institution. As to the sanctity of doctrine in the Roman church, it may be observed, without denying that good works are required in theory by their church, that it is much to be feared holiness is but little required or followed in practice among them. It is certain that there are many doctrines and practices common in their communion, which tend to injure Christian sanctity and morality, as our theologians have proved in the case of purgatory, indulgences, repentance at the point of death, attrition, auricular confession, expiatory masses, the distinction of mortal and venial sins, the doctrine of probability, opus operatum, equivocation, mental reservation, vain repetitions, *idolatrous* worship of saints and images,[d] &c. We know that some of their members reject most of what is bad in these things, but they are held and practised *without censure* by others, and the Roman churches have never yet taken any effectual steps to correct the abuses prevalent among them. And when we come to view the lives of Romanists, we see but too little sanctity. Even at the beginning of last century things had proceeded to such a length, that the learned Van Espen, professor of canon law in the university of Louvain, declared, that "the discipline of the church is so collapsed, that scarcely a vestige remains: and all sorts of vices have so prevailed everywhere, and are so abundant, that they are regarded as *nothing;* and the people drink in iniquity like water."[e] This deplorable state of immorality has since that

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[d] Bp. Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, chapters ii. and iii. Oxford edit. by Cardwell. The grossly immoral tendency of Dens' Theology, which has been so well exposed of late, is rivalled or surpassed by that of the "Theologia *moralis*" of Ligorio, bishop of S. Agatha, who was not long ago canonized as a saint by one of the Roman pontiffs. The details of this work are truly revolting. The writers on moral theology in the Roman churches seem to forget the apostolic words: "Quæ enim in occulto fiunt ab ipsis, *turpe est et dicere.*"—Eph. v.

[e] Van Espen, Jus Canonicum, pars i. tit. xx. d. i. s. 11.

time been rendered still worse. Without disputing that there are many good men among them, it may be asserted as a matter of public notoriety, that the state of morals in all orders of society, in the Roman churches of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France, is immeasurably degraded and corrupt; and what is worse, that the very persons whose lives are spent in the most infamous vices, are assiduous in their attendance on all the offices of the church; that they are constant at confession, communicate at Easter, and then revert to their usual habits, without any sense of compunction for the profanations of which they have been guilty. The banditti of the Abruzzi are remarkable for attention to their devotions. The harlots and assassins of Spain confess, communicate, and return to their sins. In Ireland it has been observed, that murderers have frequently been found assiduous in all the services of their religion. Everywhere all the external signs of an ardent devotion, even to tears, are found united with a systematic moral depravity. I ask, can that be a sound or wholesome system which teaches men to look with indifference on sin; and must there not be something wrong in a mode of moral instruction which can lead to such detestable profanations? It is a melancholy but a certain truth, that in no part of the world do the crimes of assassination, robbery, murder, adultery, suicide, rebellion, so fearfully abound, as in those countries where the Roman church holds sway. Such is the actual *sanctity* of this church in too many of her members; and it certainly places her beneath both the Oriental and the British churches. (3.) It is childish to say that all the saints, martyrs, doctors, &c. belong only to the Roman church. We claim them absolutely as *ours*, and will not consent to lose one of them. They belong to every part of the catholic church. (4.) Is equally absurd, as I have already shown the pious and successful missionary labours of the Eastern and British churches. (5.) The *miracles* of Romish saints are admitted only by Romanists generally. Certain it is, by their own admission, that a vast quantity of so-called miracles among them

have been either fictitious or not properly miraculous.[f] Miracles have been pretended to by the Jansenists from the middle of the seventeenth century,[g] and about the year 1731 they claimed *two hundred* well-attested miracles in their favour, performed all about the same time at the tomb of the Abbé Paris.[h] Soanen, Barchman, Quesnel, Rousse, Levier, Desangins, Tournus, and many other Jansenists, performed miracles (as they called them), which their party boast of to the present day.[i]

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[f] No authority on this subject can be superior to that of the late Dr. Milner. He said: "I admit that a *vast* number of incredible and false miracles, as well as other fables, have been forged by some, and believed by other catholics in every age of the church, including that of the apostles. I agree with you in rejecting the 'Legenda aurea' of Jacobus de Voragine, the 'Speculum' of Vincentius Belluacensis, the 'Saints' Lives' of the Patrician Metaphrastes, and scores of similar Legends, stuffed, as they are, with miracles of every description."—End of Controversy, letter xxiv. The fact is, that Romish miracles are almost proverbially impostures; and their very mention provokes a smile of incredulity. The falsehood of many of these tales was also acknowledged by Vives, Melchior Canus, Lindanus, &c.

[g] Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. vol. v. p. 211. They claimed miracles in their favour in 1656, 1661, and 1664.

[h] Mémoires Ecclés. xviii. siècle, tom. ii. p. 83.

[i] Ibid. p. 89. 93. The Jansenists again pretended to miracles in 1761 and 1785, of which the four holy sisters and Bonjour, curé of Fareins, near Trevoux, were the performers. Mém. Eccl. xviii. siècle ii. p. 399. The Père Lambert, a Dominican, in 1806, published "*l'Exposition des prédictions*," &c. in which he speaks of these Jansenistic miracles as "a heavenly sign which God had raised in the church for 66 years," &c.—Ib. 402. See also Mosheim, vol. v. p. 211. The "venerable" Labre, a French mendicant, who died at Rome 1783, and at whose tomb it is said the most wonderful miracles were wrought, appears to labour under very reasonable suspicions of having been a Jansenist. The Bishop of Boulogne sent to Rome one of his letters, in which he recommended to his parents a work of Lejeune, who was a disciple of Quesnel. It is said, that in his last hours, being invited to take the sacrament, he had replied that "it was unnecessary." It is easy to see Jansenistic principles in this. His parish-clergyman declared that Labre would never perform his Easter duties, *i. e.* receive the communion, &c. in his parish. His miracles were laughed at in Spain, and

It is certain, also, that the Oriental church pretends to show its miracles, and even the Nestorians and Eutychians. But we are neither bound to investigate nor to *deny* all these claims; for first, the miracles of Xavier, and any others which they put forward as most probable, were wrought in confirmation of Christianity against paganism, not in proof of the truth of Romish doctrine and the error of ours; secondly, M. Bouvier, bishop of Mans, after cardinal de la Luzerne, says: "Whether God will *perpetually* exhibit such divine signs of sanctity in his church, we dare not define; and therefore we do not affirm that sanctity so understood, is essentially a positive note of the true church."[k] Thirdly, at all events, there is no promise of miracles to *particular churches*, and therefore if the British churches have not pretended to any for some time past, it affords no presumption against them. (6.) The monastic institute of the order of St. Basil, in the Oriental churches, is preserved with a sanctity, severity, and simplicity which might put to shame the Western convents.[l] It is well known that religious fraternities have been perpetually degenerating in the West, and scarcely any age has not witnessed *reformed* congregations who have returned to the ancient discipline from the corruption and luxury of monastic life. Many of the monastic orders in France had fallen into scandalous abuses before the Revolution. For example, the Benedictines of St. Germain-des-Pres presented a petition to the *king*, in 1765, requesting "to be disembarrassed of their habit, and freed from the nocturnal office, and the observance of *maigre*." Their clothing, they said, made them "*ridiculous!*" . . . . "For many years a great laxity had been observed in some monasteries. Dissipation, idleness, and love of luxury and of the world, had taken

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not believed generally in France (Mém. de Pie VI. et son Pontificat, ii. ch. 5). These Jansenist miracles, however, converted an American dissenter named Thayer; and are boasted of by Romanists among us to this day.

k Tractatus de vera Ecclesia, p. 103.

l Smith's account of the Greek church, p. 93, &c.

the place of retirement, labour, and the spirit of poverty, &c. . . . "Finally, this partly *prevailed* in the Benedictine congregation. . . . Disorders broke out in many houses. There, they abolished without formality the use of *maigre ;* here they retrenched the nocturnal office. Elsewhere repasts, fêtes, concerts, profaned a place destined to penitence and prayers."[m] I doubt not that virtuous and holy men are to be found in some of these communities, but it is certain that too many of them have been rather a disgrace than an honour to their church. In Spain and Portugal especially, the immorality of the monastic orders is notorious and scandalous. If, therefore, the religious of the British churches do not unite in peculiar fraternities, religion amongst us is at least free from many of the scandals which the Roman church has experienced.

CATHOLICITY.

The Romish theologians argue from the superior diffusiveness of their communion, the multitude of nations in all parts of the world who are subject to the Roman pontiff, and their peculiar possession of the name of catholic, that they are alone in possession of that attribute of the true church—catholicity or universality.

I do not deny that their churches are widely spread and numerous : without doubt they have churches not only in a great part of Europe, but in North and South America, Africa, India, the Phillippines, some in Syria, Chaldæa, &c. This is all very true. But we must lay down a principle which is of the utmost importance in determining the claim of any church to catholicity. Catholicity then is *a permanent attribute* of the church. The catholic church is to be *at all times* universal. It is represented in its permanent condition, as "a great mountain which filled the whole earth."[n] Now it must be remem-

[m] Mémoires Eccl. xviii. siècle ii. p. 477, 478.

[n] Daniel ii. 35. The whole body of Roman theologians contend at length against cardinal Bellarmine, and the protestants, that the universality of the church was not to be *successive*, but simultaneous and permanent.—See

bered, that in the fifteenth century all these Roman churches beyond the continent of Europe were as yet unfounded. The Roman obedience then was limited to Europe. It numbered no permanent adherents in Africa, Asia, or America. The Latin churches of the East, transplanted by the crusaders, had long ago expired. The Oriental church remained independent, notwithstanding the submission of the Greek emperor, and a few of his servile bishops, at the Synod of Florence. In short, the Roman obedience was then, as it had been for a long time, and ordinarily was, from the time of the dispute between Cerularius and Cardinal Humbert (A.D. 1054), limited almost entirely to a part of Europe. It may be pretended that, now and then, reconciliations took place between the Roman church and the Greeks, or the Eutychians; but these reunions were only *momentary*, scarcely sincere, and by no means general. It is plain, therefore, that the Latin churches were not *then* universal; and if they were not then universal, it is in vain to urge their subsequent growth and present magnitude; because universality is a *permanent* attribute of the universal church of Christ. They were not always universal from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, and therefore could then only have constituted a part of the true church: and as the remainder (viz. the Oriental church) still has always continued, and the British was afterwards separated from the Roman church by the unworthy jealousy of the pontiffs, it is evident that the churches of the Roman obedience are only a *part* of the catholic church now, as they have always been.

This being so, we of course, on principle, do not deny the title of catholics to the members of those Roman churches which exist on the continent of Europe, and in other places where they have not *separated from any older Christian society*;[o] and this

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Delahogue, Tract. de Ecclesia Christi, pars. ii. quæst. iii. propositio i. Bouvier, pars i. c. 2. sect. 3. prop. 3. See also Tournely, Bailly, &c.

[o] [Or intruded themselves upon the previously existing jurisdiction of such society.]

is the case with the infinite majority of their communion. We also regard the title of catholic, as properly belonging to the members of the British and Oriental churches; but as these churches do not imitate the conduct of Romanists, in pretending that their branches of the church are *alone* catholic; and therefore do not apply the term catholic to themselves, as distinguished from the Roman churches generally; while the latter assume this title, to discriminate themselves from the other branches of the church; it follows naturally, that the ignorant, who observe the title of catholic usurped exclusively by the one party, and not denied absolutely by the other, should often from civility give that title under circumstances where a right discrimination, and competent knowledge, would dictate a contrary course. For instance, no one of sufficient information could recognize the appellation of "catholics" as assumed by any schismatics of Great Britain, Ireland, or America. He knows of no catholics in these countries, except those who are members of our catholic and apostolical churches. As to those separatists who obey the Roman pontiff, he recognizes them only under their proper appellations of Papists or Romanists, and would not profane the holy name of catholic, by conferring it on those who are separated from the church of Christ. To do so knowingly, would indeed be highly sinful, and would come under the condemnation of them "that call evil good, and good evil."[p] In fine, it may be observed, that the title of catholic is by no means peculiar to the Roman churches; it is equally enjoyed by the British and the Oriental, and it is never conceded by them to any schism, which the Roman pontiff has excited amongst the subjects of their jurisdictions.

APOSTOLICITY.

The Roman church alone is apostolical; for history proves that she has existed from the time of the apostles. The uninterrupted series of her bishops can be shown, extending from

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[p] Isaiah v. 20.

St. Peter to the present pontiff; and, unlike other churches, she *alone* has not separated from any more ancient Christian society; therefore she alone is apostolical.

Answer. The particular church of Rome has existed from the time of St. Peter; and many other of the Roman churches, derived originally peaceably from this, or other apostolical churches, may also justly be considered as apostolical. But the very same may be said of the Eastern and British churches, which constitute the original Christian societies in their respective localities; consequently, the Roman churches are not alone apostolical. It is further contended that the Roman churches only have an apostolical ministry; because their ordinations are valid, and they only have true mission, having never fallen into schism or heresy. But I have already shown that the Eastern and British churches are exactly in the same position.

In conclusion, then, it may be affirmed certainly, that the churches of the Roman obedience form only a part of the catholic church of Christ; that their authority, institution, sanctity, &c. are by no means superior to those of other churches; and that, in several respects, they are even inferior to the rest of the catholic church. The picture drawn of their position, by Gregory XVI. in his encyclical letter to all the bishops in 1832, is truly deplorable, though it embraces but a part of the evils which afflict that church.

"We speak, venerable brethren, that which ye behold with your own eyes; which, therefore, we deplore with united tears. An unrestrained wickedness, a shameless science, a dissolute licentiousness, are triumphant. The sanctity of holy things is despised, and the majesty of divine worship, which possesses such great power, and is of so great necessity, is blamed, profaned, derided by wicked men. Hence *sound doctrine* is perverted, and *errors of all kinds* are daringly disseminated. The laws of sacred things, the institutions, the very holiest discipline, are not safe from the audacity of those who speak unrighteously. This, our see of the most blessed Peter, in which Christ laid the foundation of his church, is most grievously assailed;

and the *bonds of unity are daily more weakened and broken.*[q] The *divine authority of the church is impugned*, and, her rights being torn away, she is subjected to *earthly considerations;* and reduced to a *base servitude*,[r] she is most unjustly exposed to the hatred of the people. The obedience due to bishops is infringed and their rights *are trampled on.* The academies and schools resound in a dreadful manner, with *new and monstrous opinions*, by which the catholic faith is no longer assailed secretly and by mining, but a horrible and impious war is now openly waged against it. For when, by the instruction and example of the teachers, the minds of youth are corrupted, the destruction of religion is vast, and the vilest *corruption of morals* becomes general." He afterwards alludes thus to the opinions of the reforming party in the Romish church. "It would be unlawful, and altogether contrary to that respect with which the laws of the church are to be received, to condemn, by an insane love of judging, the discipline sanctioned by her; which includes the administration of sacred things, the rule of morals, and the rights of the church and its ministers; or to represent it as hostile to certain principles of the rights of nature; or to pronounce it defective and imperfect, and *subject to the civil magistrate.*[s] As

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[q] This probably alludes to the dissemination of anti-papal principles in Italy, Austria, and Germany, where the maxims introduced by De Hontheim, Van Espen, Eybel, and all the school of modern canonists, under the influence of Joseph II., Leopold grand duke of Tuscany, Tannucci, &c. still prevail, and are encouraged by the governments of those countries. These principles reduce the papal power to a mere name, and transfer it partly to the bishops, but chiefly to the civil magistrate. See Appendix I.

[r] The servitude to which the German, Austrian, and Italian churches were reduced, in the time of Joseph II. has continued ever since. The Gallican church is equally enslaved by the "Organic Articles," which Napoleon annexed, by his own authority, to the Concordate of 1801, by which Christianity was restored in France.—See Appendix III.

[s] This is a manifest allusion to the principles promulgated by all the new canonists and reforming theologians, in the Roman church, from the middle of last century.

it is certain . . . that the church was taught by Jesus Christ, &c. . . . it is evidently absurd, and most injurious to her, to put forward a certain *restoration* or *regeneration*, as necessary to provide for her security and increase; as if she could be supposed liable to defect or obscuration, or other evils of that kind; by which attempts the innovators have it in view, to lay the foundation of *a new human institution*, and that what St. Cyprian detested may occur; namely, that what is divine, *may become a human church.*"[t] . . . . "And here we wish to excite your constancy for religion, against a most shameful conspiracy, formed against clerical celibacy, which you know every day to become more vehement, some even of the ecclesiastical order uniting with the most abandoned philosophers of our age; and who, forgetful of their character and office, carried away by the blandishments of pleasure, have proceeded to such a pitch of license, that in some places they have dared to address public and reiterated petitions to princes, to destroy this holy discipline."[u] Such is the state of the Roman church; full of infidelity, immorality, division, uneasiness, innovations, enslaved by the civil powers, and rent internally by Jansenism, heresy, schism, and indifference. If she alone constituted the catholic church, Christianity would indeed be at the lowest ebb, and the gates of hell would almost have prevailed against it.

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[t] The allusion here is to the Jansenistic principles and practices, which will be detailed in Appendix I.

[u] In Bavaria, and other parts of Germany. See an article on the Church in Silesia, Foreign Quarterly Review for 1827, p. 515, &c. The original of these passages, from the bull of Gregory XVI., will be found in Appendix IV.

SECTION IV.

SOCIETIES OF THE ROMAN COMMUNION OF THE MODERN FOUNDATION.

Hitherto I have spoken of the ancient churches of the Roman obedience, which were not founded by an act of separation from older Christian societies, but were originally gathered from the heathen world. I am now to speak of modern communities, under the title of churches established or protected by the care of the Roman pontiffs, in localities where there were previously existing branches of the catholic and apostolic church; and of other modern Roman societies. In order to judge rightly of these societies, we must discriminate several different cases.

First, if members of the Latin churches should find themselves resident, in quest of merchandize or other temporal objects, in the regions of the Oriental churches, and should be unable, from ignorance of the language, or from some other inconvenience, to receive the full benefit of administration in the Oriental church, it would not be schismatical in them to call in the aid of Latin priests, with consent of the ecclesiastical authorities of the East.[v] Accordingly it is known, that

[v] [A more doubtful and curious question arises, relative to the establishment of distinct episcopal jurisdictions in such circumstances. To the writer there seems to be no good ground for denying the fitness of such establishment where the distinction of jurisdiction by language or lineage, is perfectly well defined. The position of the bishop of the Scotch succession (Dr. Luscombe), resident in Paris, is defensible on this ground, rather than on that taken by Mr. Palmer in the last clause of his fifth paragraph. The English on the continent form a perfectly distinct community, *needing* provision for separate worship on account of diversity of language, &c. and in no way endangering the unity of the church where they reside, by any confusion or collision of jurisdiction. The same may be said of the French population in the Canadas. On similar grounds, no doubt, the episcopal jurisdiction of John a Lasco (himself in episcopal orders) over

Latin convents existed in Constantinople, Jerusalem, and other parts of the East, before the division of the Eastern and Western churches.

Secondly, if the Latins of the East were separated by the Greeks from their communion afterwards, as appears to have been the case, it could not be schismatical in them to provide priests for themselves, and even bishops to administer ordination and confirmation. This would be justified by the necessity of the case; and being in its nature only a temporary arrangement, would not interfere with the essential principles of unity.[w] Hence we cannot altogether condemn the Latins for appointing some Latin priests and bishops in Palestine and Syria, in the time of the crusades, and for retaining some convents and priests there still.

Thirdly, any Eastern heretics who chose to unite themselves with the Roman communion, and who were on that account not acknowledged by the Oriental churches, were still not in schism. Hence the Maronites of Syria, who renounced the Eutychian errors, and the Indians of St. Thomas, who renounced the Nestorian heresy,[x] and remain to this day united

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the foreign refugees in England, was committed to him by the English reformers.]

[w] [That depends upon the terms of the exclusion. If it were not, (as in fact, in the specified case, it was not,) *absolute* and *unconditional*, the terms required must be proven to be contrary to Christian duty, before the separated party can be justified in remaining so, and the question is at once involved in all the intricacies of the adiaphoristic controversy. Were any of the points in discussion between the Eastern and Western churches sufficient to warrant the Latins *resident in the East*, in refusing compliance with the demands of the Greeks? *Their refusal*, and not the demand, must be regarded as the immediate occasion of their separated state; and the writer does not see how, on the sound principles of Mr. Palmer's treatise, they can be justified from the charge of schism, as setting up altar against altar in the circumstances stated in the text.]

[x] [Does the author regard the transactions at Goa as a *bona fide* renunciation on the part of the persecuted Syrians? and consider the native Christians of Malabar as brought by it under Roman jurisdiction? The

to the Roman see, are not cut off from catholic unity, though they do not communicate with the other Oriental churches.

Fourthly, it was entirely unlawful for the Latins to eject the Greek bishops or priests, or to force them by persecution to submit to the Roman see. It was equally unlawful to ordain Latin bishops in their place, and to treat them as heretics or schismatics. But this was done in Cyprus, and many of the islands of the Archipelago, and in Greece. Therefore all the Latin societies thus formed, had a schismatical origin; and this fault could not be healed by the encouragement which the Roman pontiffs afforded to these proceedings, which was in itself blameable, and proceeded from false and exaggerated notions of their own rights.

Fifthly, when Roman churches were founded in South America, Canada, the Philippines, &c. by the Europeans who first colonized or subdued those countries, such churches are altogether free from schism, and are invested with the original rights of catholic churches, so that no one has a right to establish rival communities among them, with a view to oppose their authority, or draw proselytes from them. If, in Canada, the English community united to our catholic churches have bishops and priests, it is only as a matter of necessity, because the church there refuses them communion, and they are properly for the English only. The arrangement must be considered only provisional in a certain measure, and not designed to interfere with the prior claims of the Roman churches there, within their *proper districts*. The same may be observed of our clergy on the continent of Europe.

Sixthly, when certain individuals, in obedience to the exhortation of papal emissaries, or to the directions of Roman pontiffs, went out and separated themselves from the communion of the catholic church of their country, when they established rival altars, a rival priesthood, and endeavoured to withdraw

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writer would be inclined to look upon their last state, in such case, as worse than the first.]

the faithful from obedience to their legitimate pastors; then it is plain that such men were guilty of that aggravated schism, which the Second Œcumenical Council calls heresy; and that they were altogether cut off from the unity of the church. Such was the conduct of the Romish or popish party in England and Ireland, who fell from the catholic church in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and have not ceased to rage against her ever since. This subject will be enlarged on elsewhere, and the original of these sects will be developed.[y]

Seventhly, Schismatics do not cease to be so by a mere change of country. Therefore the papists who went from this country, to establish colonies in the United States of North America, were schismatics when they arrived there; and always remaining separated from that branch of the catholic apostolic church which was established there, they only perpetuated their schism. In fine, when America received bishops from our churches, the schismatics constituted a rival episcopacy,[z] and so remain to this day separated from the true church.

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[y] See Part II. Chapters II. and X.

[z] Dr. Seabury, Bishop of Connecticut, was consecrated by the Most Reverend Primus, Dr. Kilgour, and other bishops of Scotland, A.D. 1784. Dr. Provost, bishop of New-York, and Dr. White of Pennsylvania, were consecrated by Dr. Moore, the Most Reverend Primate of all England, and other English bishops, in 1787; as was Dr. Madison, bishop of Virginia, in 1790. The dioceses of Maryland, South Carolina, Massachusetts, &c., which had all been previously constituted, received bishops about the same time. The Roman pontiff erected, in 1789, the rival bishopric of Baltimore; and nominated to it Dr. John Carroll, who was consecrated in England 1790, and headed the schism in America. In 1808, the pontiff raised the see of Baltimore to be archi-episcopal, and pretended to erect sees of New-York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardstown, in opposition to the previously existing churches of those localities. There are very serious difficulties affecting the regularity, and even the validity of the ordination of the above-mentioned Carroll, and all the Romish clergy of the United States derived from him; in consequence of his ordination having been performed by only *one* titular bishop, Dr. Walmsley, who appears to have

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

I. The Homilies of the church of England deny that the Roman is a part of the Christian church. Having defined the true church, and explained its notes or marks, it is said: "If you will compare this with the church of Rome, not as it was in the beginning, but as it is at present, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd, you will perceive the state thereof to be so far wide from the nature of the true church that nothing can be more."[a] Therefore the Homilies deny the Roman to be a part of the church of Christ.

Answer. (1.) This is merely used in the way of *argument* against the position of the popes of Rome, that they "are the chief heads and the principal part of the church, therefore they have the Holy Ghost for ever; and whatsoever things they decree, are undoubted verities and oracles of the Holy Ghost." The "godly and wholesome doctrine" inculcated by the Homily, in *denying* this position, we are bound to receive; but the particular *argument* on which this denial rests, is not a thing to which we are in any degree bound. (2.) These expressions relate only to the Roman pontiffs and their immediate "adherents," as the context shows, and by no means to the whole Western church. (3.) Being used in a discourse designed for the people, and intended to guard them against the papal emissaries, they must be considered in some degree popular and rhetorical, and are not to be taken literally and strictly as expressing the formal sense of the church.

II. The homilies elsewhere speak of the "idolatrous church," as "a foul, filthy, old, withered harlot, (for she is indeed of ancient years,") &c.[b]

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laboured under a similar irregularity, or deficiency himself.—See Mémoires Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p. 142. 145. 485. See also Part VI. chapter Romish Ordinations.

[a] Sermon for Whitsunday, pt. ii.

[b] Sermon against Peril of Idolatry, part iii.

Answer. In this place it is not said, *what* church is the "idolatrous church," and we may most properly understand these expressions to apply to that *party* in the Roman church, which is involved in idolatrous honouring of images, not to the whole of that church. Besides these expressions are only used *obiter*, and not in the way of formal doctrine or definition, therefore we are by no means bound to them in every point.

III. The Homily against Peril of Idolatry says, that "not only the unlearned and simple, but the learned and wise; not the people only, but the bishops; not the sheep, but also the shepherds themselves . . . being blinded by the bewitching of images, as blind guides of the blind, fell both into the pit of damnable idolatry. In the which all the world, as it were drowned, continued until our age, by the space of above eight hundred years, unspoken against in a manner . . . . So that laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children, of whole Christendom, (a horrible and most dreadful thing to think,) have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most *damnable* to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more."[c]

Answer. The meaning is, that *some* persons in every class were guilty of idolatry, which is very certain; but not that the *whole church*, literally speaking, fell into damnable idolatry, for if so, it must have *entirely failed*, which would be contrary to the belief of the church of England. In fact, the Homilies themselves (Sermon on Whitsunday, part ii.) affirm that the Holy Ghost was *always* to abide with the church. "Neither must we think that this Comforter was either promised, or else given only to the apostles, but also to the universal church of Christ, dispersed through the whole world. For unless the *Holy Ghost had been always present, governing and preserving the church* from the beginning, it could never have sustain-

[c] Sermon against Peril of Idolatry, part iii.

ed so many and great brunts of affliction and persecution, with so little damage as it hath. And the words of Christ are most plain in this behalf, saying, that 'the *Spirit of truth* shall abide with them *for ever*, that he would be with them always, (he meaneth by grace, virtue, and power,) even to the world's end.'" This is the real "*godly and wholesome doctrine*" of the Homilies, formally and clearly laid down: and hence it follows, that the whole church (speaking strictly) can never have fallen into damnable idolatry, because the Spirit of truth would no longer have been with her. We must therefore interpret the passage objected, and those of the preceding objections, in a sense consistent with the perpetuity and catholicity of the church.

IV. The errors of the Roman churches contrary to the doctrine and morality of the Gospel, are destructive of their character as churches of Christ.

Answer. Whatever may be the extent of these errors, I answer in the words of Chillingworth, a most determined opponent of Romanism: "Those revelations, the church of Rome not seeing, by reason of the veil before their eyes, their church's supposed infallibility; I hope the denial of them shall not be laid to their charge, no otherwise than as building hay and stubble on the foundation, not overthrowing the foundation itself."[d]

V. The Roman pontiff is Antichrist, the beast, and the man of sin; therefore all who have the sign of the beast, that is, all of the Roman communion, are cut off from the true church of Christ which was driven into the wilderness.[e]

Answer. It is disputed by many of our theologians, whether those prophecies really relate to the Roman pontiffs: but supposing that they do, I deny absolutely the conclusion which is attempted to be drawn from them, for all who apply these prophe-

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[d] Chillingworth, chapter iii. s. 21.

[e] [See the Supplement, at the end of the second volume, section II.]

cies to the Roman see affirm, that the reign of Antichrist had begun, at latest, in the eighth century; but the universal church of Christ held communion with the see of Rome, till the eleventh century at least; therefore, according to this objection, the whole church of Christ must have failed and become apostate for several centuries, which is a decidedly heretical position, contrary to the Christian faith. Therefore we may assume it as certain, that communion with the Roman see is no sign of apostacy from Christ. It must be further added, that the Western churches were subjugated to the Roman pontiffs by the aid of forged decretals, and other impostures, by the force of the civil powers, and by the usurpations and threats of the pontiffs, not by their own mere choice and free will,[f] and the submission they now pay to Rome, does not arise from any desire on their part to uphold an unlawful and usurped authority, but from a belief founded on deceitful but probable reasons, that it is of Divine institution. Therefore they ought rather to be pitied and excused for this, than harshly condemned.

VI. The adoration of the host, practised in all the Western churches before the Reformation, was grossly idolatrous, and as every one was compelled to unite in this act, the whole Western church must have been idolatrous and apostate, and have ceased to be a part of Christ's church.

Answer. I do not deny that idolatry was practised by some in the adoration of the host, but unless it can be proved that all the members of the Western churches were, as such, *obliged* to commit those acts of idolatry, there would be no proof that those churches were *apostate;* for the idolatry may have been merely the *abuse* of individuals, not the institution of the church. Such, in fact, appears to have been the case. In the office of the mass or Roman liturgy, the host, or consecrated elements, are elevated by the priest immediately after the words of institution, and at the same instant all the congregation prostrate themselves, with the intention of worshipping the body

[f] See Part VII.

and blood of Christ with divine honour. Such at least is now commonly understood to be the object of the people in this particular action. But there is reason to suppose, that the *adoration of the host* was not contemplated by the Western churches, in appointing the elevation and its accompanying rites, and that no one was *obliged* to worship the host at the elevation.

The elevation is, comparatively speaking, not an ancient rite. The Roman ritualists, Bona,[g] Merati,[h] Benedict XIV.,[i] Le Brun,[k] &c., acknowledge that the time of its origin is uncertain, and that there is no trace of its existence before the eleventh or twelfth century in the West. The Ordo Romanus, Amalarius, Walafrid Strabo, and Micrologus, make no mention of the rite, though the last of these ritualists lived at the end of the *eleventh* century. The truth is, that no certain documents refer to it, until the beginning of the *thirteenth* century, but it may possibly have existed in some places in the twelfth. The synodical constitutions of Odo de Sulli, bishop of Paris, about 1200, appoint this elevation,[l] and it was probably then first introduced into the diocese of Paris. Innocent III., who wrote on the ceremonies of the mass at the beginning of the thirteenth century, does not speak of it, but in the time of Honorius III. it had come into use, for he mentions it in an epistle to the Latin bishops of the patriarchate of Antioch, A.D. 1219, where he commands that at the elevation the people should reverently *bow*. "Sacerdos quilibet frequenter doceat plebem suam, ut cum in celebratione missarum elevatur hostia salutaris, quilibet reverenter inclinet."[m] This was inserted in the decretals (c. *sane* de celebratione missarum) by Gregory IX. his successor, and thus became the *law* of the West. It is spoken of by

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[g] Bona, Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. c. 13.

[h] Gavanti Thesaurus a Merati.

[i] Lambertinus, de Missa, p. 115, &c.

[k] Le Brun, Cérémonies de la Messe, tom. i. p. 469, &c.

[l] Harduini Concilia, tom. vi. p. 1946.

[m] See Raynaldus, ad ann. 1219.

Bonaventure,[n] Durand,[o] and the Council of Lambeth[p] in the latter part of the same century, and cardinal Guido is said to have introduced this rite, or some part of it, at Cologne about 1265.[q] These are the first authentic notices of the elevation, for the passages adduced by Le Brun from Robertus Paululus, or Hugo St. Victor, and from Hildebert, who lived in the twelfth century, are, (as he admits,) not sufficiently clear to be of use unless aided by other evidence; and the "customs" of the Carthusians, Premonstratenses, and Camaldulite monks, which he alleges to prove its existence in the twelfth century, were most probably added to in later times.[r] Honorius speaks of *some* elevation,[s] but it is doubtful whether he means this, or the lesser elevation at the end of the canon, when there is no adoration.

We know then, that in the thirteenth century the host was elevated, and the people bowed or knelt at the same time. But it is worthy of remark, that if we are to judge by the authorities referred to by the Roman ritualists themselves, the writers of that, and the following ages, did not generally interpret this as designed for the *adoration of the eucharist*, or of *Christ in the eucharist*. Bonaventure (A.D. 1270) assigns *nine* reasons for the elevation,[t] some of which relate to the duty or dispositions of the people on the occasion; but he does not notice the *adoration of the host*. William, bishop of Paris, about 1220, ordered a bell to be rung at the elevation, that the people might be excited to *pray*, not to worship the host. "Præcipitur quod

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[n] De Myst. Missæ, oper. vii. 83.

[o] Rationale Div. Off. iv. c. 41.

[p] Lyndwood, Provinciale Angliæ. Const. Peckham, 1281.

[q] Raynaldus, ann. 1203. This date assigned in Raynaldus' Annals is obviously an error, as both Fleury and he himself afterwards speak of this very cardinal on the same mission in Germany, A.D. 1265.

[r] Cérémonies de la Messe, i. 469.

[s] Gemma, lib. i. c. 46.

[t] De Myster. Missæ, opera, tom. vii. p. 83.

in celebratione missarum, quando corpus Christi elevatur, in ipsa elevatione, vel paulo ante, campana pulsetur, sicut alias fuit statutum, ut sic mentes fidelium ad *orationem* excitentur."[u] Cardinal Guido (A.D. 1265) ordained, that at the elevation all the people should *pray for pardon*. "Bonam illic consuetudinem instituit, ut ad elevationem hostiæ omnis populus in Ecclesia ad sonitum nolæ *veniam peteret*, sicque usque ad calicis benedictionem prostratus jaceret."[v] The Synod of Cologne (A.D. 1536) explained the people's duty at the elevation to consist, in *remembering the Lord's death, and returning him thanks with minds raised to heaven*. "Post elevationem consecrati corporis ac sanguinis Domini . . . . tum videretur silendum, et ab omni populo mortis Dominicæ commemoratio habenda, prostratisque humi corporibus, *animis in cœlum erectis*, gratiæ agendæ Christo Redemptori, qui nos sanguine suo lavit morteque redemit."[w]

On the other hand, Durand[x] (1286), Lyndwood[y] (1430), the diocesan Synod of Augsburg (1548), and cardinal Hosius, one of the papal legates at the Synod of Trent, understood the prostration of the people as designed for the adoration of Christ as present in the Eucharist. Certainly, this has latterly become the common opinion, but from what has been said above, it appears that before the Reformation, and afterwards, many persons at the elevation directed their worship to God and Christ simply, without any exclusive reference to the presence of Christ in the Eucharist; and it does not seem that such a practice is even now unlawful in the Roman churches.

If this be the case, the Western churches before the Reformation cannot be accused of such idolatry in the mass as would have amounted to apostacy, for they did not enjoin or require

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[u] Binii Concilia, t. vii. pars i. p. 536.

[v] Raynaldus, ann. 1203.

[w] Synodus Colon. pars ii, can. 14.

[x] Rationale Div. Off. iv. 41.

[y] Provinciale, de Celebratione Missarum. c. Altissimus v. Elevatione.

any one to worship the host at the elevation. I say this even on the supposition that there is nothing in the Eucharist but mere bread and wine. The argument is entirely independent of the question of the real presence. But if Christ be in a special and mysterious manner present in these "holy mysteries,"[z] as the infinite majority of Christians have at all times firmly and fervently believed, according to the more simple and unrestrained interpretation of Holy Scripture; the truly religious man cannot but be profoundly impressed with sentiments of awe and veneration in the more immediate presence of the Divine Saviour of the world. He will feel with the patriarch: "How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." Nor will he need the voice of God to say: "Put off thy shoes from thy feet; for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." Now, there is every reason to believe, that of those who intended their worship at the elevation to be directed to Christ, as more immediately present in the holy Eucharist; many directed it simply to *Christ himself*, and not to the external part of the sacrament whether substance or species. And such men could not be properly charged with idolatry, because their worship was not directed to an idol, nor to a false god, nor to a creature. It is clear, however, that others have worshipped the elements themselves with divine honour, as our writers have shown, and those who did so cannot be excused from the guilt of idolatry. But this imputation cannot justly rest either on the whole Western church before the Reformation, nor on the Roman churches in general since, as bishops Bramhall,[a] Jeremy Taylor,[b] &c. have taught.

VII. It may be further objected, in reply to the preceding conclusions, that the declaration against transubstantiation, prescribed by act of parliament (30 Car. II. c. 1.), affirms the Ro-

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[z] Exhortation in the Office of the Holy Communion.

[a] Bramhall, Works, p. 172. [b] Taylor, Liberty of Prophesying.

man churches to be idolatrous. "I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, &c. . . . that the invocation or *adoration* of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome are superstitious and *idolatrous*," &c.

Answer. When it was proposed in parliament to establish this test in order to exclude papists from various offices, the deeply learned Dr. Gunning, bishop of Ely, contended, after bishop Jeremy Taylor and others, that the Roman churches in general were not properly idolatrous; but when the act had passed, he found nothing in this declaration absolutely to prevent him from taking it. Therefore it is to be supposed capable of an interpretation consistent with his views.[c] Now in a formulary of this sort, where various points are noted in common with several marks of censure, it is sufficient if we believe that each particular point condemned, rightly comes under some one head of censure, or that each of the censures is applicable to some one of the points condemned. Thus, when we affirm the "invocation or adoration of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass to be superstitious and idolatrous," it is sufficient if we understand the "idolatry" to refer to the "adoration of saints," and the "superstition" to their "invocation, and the sacrifice of the mass." And who can reasonably deny that the *adoration* of saints actually practised by some "in the church of Rome," is idolatrous; that the *invocation* of saints is superstitious, unnecessary, and tending to great abuses; or that the sacrifice of the mass, or the Roman liturgy, is encumbered by superstitious rites and ceremonies? All this we readily admit; but it does not oblige us to maintain, that the whole Roman church is so idolatrous, that it is really apostate, and no part of the church of Christ.

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[c] [This remark seems incautious. It looks very like the Jesuitical doctrine of probability. Dr. Gunning, no doubt, had his solution. But to pronounce such *unknown* solution to be one of which the act "is capable," is venturing too much on the wisdom and integrity of an individual.]

VIII. The XIXth Article of the church of England declares that "the church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith." Therefore it cannot be a part of the Christian church.

Answer. The Article only affirms that the Roman church *has erred* in matters of faith, *e. g.* in the case of Liberius and Honorius; there is no assertion that it *does* now err in faith. The object is to deny the infallibility of the particular church of Rome.

IX. If the Roman churches be churches of Christ, it must be unlawful for any one to separate himself from them, and become a Protestant in France, Germany, &c.

Answer. It is always right to embrace *the truth*, and if, in consequence of maintaining the truth, any one should be excommunicated by those who are misled by the authority of their church, erroneously supposed infallible, he is not in schism, and may lawfully consort with those who are not themselves involved in schism, and by whom the truth is maintained. But he ought not to forsake his church voluntarily, but rather remain in its communion, and endeavour with prudence and humility to edify his brethren.

X. If the Romish be true churches, then it is unlawful to send missionaries among them, to establish any rival worship, seek for converts among them, &c.

Answer. The rule of fraternal charity encourages different parts of the church, to aid, if possible, in the dissemination of perfect Christianity among all their brethren. Therefore whatever can be done by writings and conferences, managed without acerbity, and without intrusion on the appointed sphere of others, may be lawfully resorted to. But it is inconsistent with the true principles of catholic unity for any branch of the church to send missionaries to raise a *rival* worship, and seek for converts in the bosom of another. This has been the conduct of the Roman pontiffs in relation to our churches. But it is not schismatical to provide for the worship of our own people who may travel in foreign lands, supposing that through some

error or prejudice, they are not received by the churches of those countries. In fine, it must always be borne in mind, that the rights attributed to the Roman churches do not in any degree concern the schisms raised by the pontiffs in these countries, which are to be viewed and treated as altogether cut off from the catholic church.

XI. If the Roman be true churches, and if (as you allege) it is not necessary to institute an examination into particular doctrines, but we are to be guided in a great measure by the church; it follows that if an Englishman were resident in France or Spain, he ought to join in communion with the Roman churches there, and, in order to do so, ought to subscribe the creed of Pius IV. in which the invocation of saints, purgatory, the papal supremacy, &c. are included. For according to you, there is no necessity to examine the truth of these doctrines: they should be received on the authority of the church.

Answer. The law of unity requires that he should be willing to communicate with those churches; but he cannot lawfully subscribe or profess the creed of Pius IV. for the following reasons. (1.) This creed is proposed to him as a *heretic.* It is designed to exact from him the *condemnation* of that branch of the catholic church in which he has hitherto lived, and such an admission and condemnation cannot be made consistently with truth. Therefore the creed of Pius is to be firmly rejected. (2.) The Roman church, in exacting from him the profession of this creed, as the condition of communion with her, evidently expects that the particular doctrines therein contained shall be professed explicitly, *after examination,* for otherwise she would have only exacted a *general* adhesion to all the doctrines of the Roman church. Now it is impossible, consistently with a due regard to Christian truth, to profess explicitly all points of this creed, especially as matters of faith, because several of them are uncertain and erroneous, and disputed in many parts of the Catholic church. The same objections would lie against any similar formulary whatever.

APPENDIX I.

ON JANSENISM.

To those who are acquainted with the history of the Roman churches, in connexion with Jansenism, few things can appear more absurd, than the air of triumph, with which modern Romish theologians vaunt the *unity* of their church in *faith*, its sole and exclusive possession of authority for the *termination of religious controversies*, and its freedom from all *heresy*. According to Bouvier, now bishop of Mans, the Roman church has perfect unity of doctrine, "for whosoever denies the *very least article of faith*, is *ipso facto* separated from her, and regarded as a heretic: no opportunity is afforded for examination or disputation; learned and unlearned are bound to submit themselves immediately, heart and soul, to the same definition once pronounced, under the penalty of anathema; therefore it is *impossible* that unity of faith should not be preserved among them,"[a] &c. "When debates rise among 'Catholics' concerning points of faith," says Milner, "the pastors of the church . . . *fail* not to examine them by the received Rule of Faith, and to pronounce an authoritative sentence upon them. *The dispute is thus quashed, and peace is restored*,"[b] &c. "The church never changes her doctrine, nor suffers any persons in her communion to change it, *or to question any part of it*,"[c] &c. The dogmatical tone of these assertions is highly imposing; but it is

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[a] De Vera Ecclesia, p. 145.

[b] End of Controversy, p. 102.

[c] Ibid. p. 147. Dr. Baines is equally positive in his assurance of the unity of faith in the Roman communion. "The doctrines of the catholic religion are every where the same. Not a difference will be found on any single *article of faith*, (sic) amongst all its countless millions" . . . "Unity like this is indispensable in any church which claims to teach the uniform and unchangeable doctrines of Christ. Need I add, that you will in vain seek for it in any other communion or sect."—Sermon at Bradford, 1825.

not sustained by facts. The truth is, that no branch of the catholic church has been more divided in points of faith, and more troubled, and exposed to greater perils in consequence, than the Roman, during the last two hundred years.

I. Romanists commonly, I suppose, regard the followers of Jansenius and Quesnel as heretics. Their theologians, Tournely, Delahogue, Bailly, &c. &c. have clearly shown that the judgment of the whole body of pastors of the Roman obedience, has been repeatedly pronounced in condemnation of Jansenism. Without speaking of the censure of Jansenius's book, entitled *Augustinus*, by Urban VIII. in 1641, the five principal tenets of Jansenism (which amount in fact to the doctrine of Calvin) were condemned by a bull of Innocent X. in 1653; again by Alexander VII. in 1656, whose subsequent bull of 1665 prescribed a formulary, to be signed by all the clergy, receiving the above bulls, and condemning the propositions in the *sense* of Jansenius. This was followed, in 1705, by the bull of Clement XI. confirming the former, and condemning the subterfuges of the Jansenists. In 1713 the bull *Unigenitus* was fulminated by Clement XI. against the doctrines of Quesnel, a Jansenist; this was confirmed by the bull *Pastoralis Officii*, the papal Synod of Rome, 1725, and by other bulls, rescripts, briefs, &c. of succeeding pontiffs. The Romish theologians prove very clearly, that these various bulls were addressed to the universal church, that they were received by the infinite majority of the Roman bishops, that in consequence all who held Jansenist doctrines were *heretics*, that Jansenism is in fact a damnable heresy, &c.

II. Notwithstanding all this, it is a matter of absolute certainty, that this very Jansenist heresy has, in opposition to all these anathemas and condemnations, and in spite of the persecution of the temporal powers, continued to exist for nearly two hundred years; and what is more, that it has existed all along in the very heart of the Roman church itself. Yes, it has perpetuated itself in all parts of that church, sometimes covertly, sometimes openly, exciting uneasiness, tumults, innovations, reforms, persecutions, schisms, but always adhering to the Roman communion with invincible tenacity. It is in vain that, sensible of so great an evil, the Roman church struggles and resorts to every expedient to free

herself from its presence: the loathed and abhorred heresy perpetuates itself in her vitals, and infects her bishops, her priests, her monks, her universities; and depressed for a time by the arm of civil power, gains the ascendancy at length, influences the councils of kings, overthrows the Jesuits, produces religious innovations of the most extraordinary character, and inflicts infinite and permanent injury and disgrace on the cause of the Roman church.

The Jansenist party is thus described by the historian of this church in the eighteenth century: "Active, intriguing, obstinate, it produced a crowd of writings which wounded charity and perpetuated dissensions. Condemned by the body of pastors, it took shelter in the arms of the secular power, and found support in some of its branches. . . . . The continual declamations in which they indulged, against the pope and the bishops, abased the ecclesiastical power. The obstinacy with which they sustained false miracles, led Deists to cast doubts even on those which support Christianity. This party offers to the impartial observer, all the features of a real sect . . . the church was troubled wherever it existed; she was only tranquil where it existed not. During fifty years it rent the church of France, producing a multitude of incidental disputes, fomenting deplorable illusions, exciting a spirit of opposition, of mutiny, and slander against the bishops. From France this spirit passed to other countries; and, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Germany and Italy saw it develop itself in their bosom, under the protection of some deceived princes, or some seduced ministers. To the same influence must be attributed the changes introduced into the schools of those countries, the errors of their canonists, the reforms attempted at Vienna, Florence, and Naples, the instruction of the university of Pavia, so many writings against the holy see, and that secret but active conspiracy to effect universal alteration in the church, and to place it under *the secular arm*."[d] Such was the boasted unity of the Roman church during the eighteenth century!

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[d] Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire Ecclés. xviii. siècle. Preface, iv—vi. This work is commended by Cardinal Pacca in his Memoirs, tom. ii. p. 113.

III. I proceed to verify these observations by facts, and to show that Jansenism has continued always to exist in the communion of the Roman church.

I shall, in the first instance, remark its condition during the seventeenth century, and afterwards proceed to trace its progress in the various countries of Europe, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present age. The Jansenist party was soon headed, or supported, by many of the most distinguished men in France, as Arnauld, Nicole, Pascal, Launoy, whose writings, even at the present day, are cited by all Romanists, as among the most learned which their church has ever produced. The strength of their party was shown at once, by the letter of *eleven* French bishops to Innocent X. in 1653, imploring him not to condemn the work of Jansenius.[e] The divisions were not terminated even by the bull of Alexander VII. in 1665, prescribing the signature of the Formulary condemning Jansenism. M. de Gondrin, Archbishop of Sens, subscribed, but his friends said that he had not changed his opinions.[f] In short, many of those who subscribed were of opinion, "that they might sign, though they did not believe internally the *fact*" (that Jansenius had taught the condemned propositions;) Arnauld says, this "was the opinion of a great number of persons in some learned communities."[g] Others signed with various restrictions: and thus the party continued to possess their bishoprics and other benefices *in the Gallican church.* Four bishops published mandates, in which they only required a respectful silence as to the question of the fact, adopting thus the Jansenist distinction; and when an attempt was made to punish them by the opposite party, *nineteen* other bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Sens, wrote to Clement IX. in their favour.[h] This again shows the strength of the Jansenist party in the church. The re-

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[e] Ibid. p. cclxv. [f] cclxxix.

[g] Ibid. This conduct resembled that of the Arians, Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis, and Maris, at the Council of Nice, and their successors, Clarke, Sykes, Hoadly, &c., in later times, who subscribed articles which they disbelieved, and were not ashamed to recommend the same to others.

[h] cclxxxvii.

sult was, that the four Jansenist bishops were allowed to subscribe a formulary in such a manner, "that they and their partizans did not really abandon their sentiments." They profited by the opportunity to strengthen their party, and "Port Royal became the place of assembly of the enemies of authority."[i] Thus Jansenism still continued in the Roman church. At the same time we learn, that Flanders "was also a prey to the new opinionists."[k] The very first bull against the book of Jansenius had encountered opposition in the university of Louvain.[l] Afterwards Arnauld, Nicole, Quesnel, and other heads of the Jansenists, resided in Belgium, and amongst their partizans are mentioned, P. Honoré de S. Marie, John Opstraët, and "many others."[m] In fine, Dr. Van Espen, professor of canon law in the university of Louvain, and "the most learned canonist of his time," . . . "gave himself up to this same party of which we have been speaking. . . . In general this writer is little favourable to the Holy See, and prone to exaggerate the power of princes in the church. These dispositions increased with his devotion for the cause he had embraced. He always showed himself at the head of the refractory Flemings, and spent his old age in writing in their favour."[n] It appears from this that Jansenists were in the communion of the church in Belgium. The same may be observed of Holland. M. de Neercassel, bishop of Castoria and vicar apostolic in Holland, was connected with some of the Jansenist party," . . . . "having given access to many Jansenists, he permitted them to exercise influence over his clergy, among whom they contrived to make partizans. The evil appeared to increase under M. Codde his successor."[o] M. Codde was accused of Jansenism, suspended and deposed by the pope, but the Jansenist party prevented any one from assuming his place.[p]

IV. I now proceed to the progress of Jansenism in the eighteenth century, and first, in FRANCE. On the appearance of the bull "*Unigenitus*," in 1713, six of the French bishops did not publish it, as was required. The bishops of Metz and Sisteron, and the archbishop of Embrun, published explanatory mandates not

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[i] ccxciv. v. [k] ccxcv. [l] cclxiii. cclxvii. [m] cxliii. [n] cxlvii. cxlviii. [o] cl. [p] cli. clii. cliii.

receiving it simply. "*Fourteen* bishops formally opposed the bull. Three or four pursued a middle course.[q] So strong was the Jansenist party in the Gallican church. Cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris, was now at the head of the Jansenists,[r] and continued so for fifteen years. On the accession of the regent Orleans, (1715,) Noailles came into power, and was made president of a council for ecclesiastical affairs. His influence made itself felt, and "the dignities of the church even became the recompense of zeal for the cardinal and his adherents," *i. e.* the Jansenists. "The abbés de Lorraine, Bossuet, d'Entraigues, &c., were nominated to *bishoprics*."[s] These Jansenist prelates, after much opposition, actually obtained their bulls and became bishops of the Gallican church.[t] In 1717, the bishops of Mirepoix, Senez, Montpelier, and Boulogne, signed an appeal from the constitution "Unigenitus" to a general council. To this appeal the faculty of Theology at Paris adhered.[u] They were followed by the faculties of arts and law; by rectors, canons, monks, nuns, laymen. Noailles encouraged these proceedings;[v] and soon after, *sixteen* bishops, of whom he was the principal, suspended in their dioceses the effects of the bull. They were supported by the three universities of Paris, Rheims, and Nantes, and by some *thousands* of ecclesiastics, and many laymen,[w] and thus the Jansenist party, called Appellants (as Appealing from the bull Unigenitus to a general council,) were still within the bosom of the Roman church, and continued to maintain their preferments and their communion with the rest of their church, in spite of the anathemas launched against them. I shall not notice all the minor contests and controversies in France, which were perpetual, and prove the existence of this party; but content myself with a few facts showing its existence in the communion of the church. In 1720, *seven* French bishops wrote to Innocent XIII. against his predecessor and the bull Unigenitus, "a judgment," they said, "so irregular that pagan Rome itself would not have suffered it."[x] In 1726, M. Soanen, bishop of Senez, was an appellant, and published a Jansenist instruction,

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[q] Mémoires, tom. i. p. 97. [r] 100. [s] 116. [t] 149.
[u] 124. [v] 125. [w] 126. [x] 187.

which brought him into difficulties. He used to ordain the Jansenists of Holland.[y] In 1728, a number of Gallican bishops wrote to the Roman pontiff to complain of the excesses of the Jansenists "The spirit of criticism," they said, "becomes the dominant spirit. How many persons erect themselves into judges of what they do not understand! There is a party in open revolt against the church. It gains credit every day; it acquires new followers; it receives with avidity and scatters with profusion; it vaunts to excess the numberless books which are written to authorize it, and neglects nothing to strengthen its errors and its disobedience."[z] Nevertheless this party was still within the church itself. M. Soanen having been suspended by the provincial synod of Embrun, *twelve* bishops interceded again and again for him. They were, like him, opponents of the bull.[a] M. Soanen, however, though a Jansenist was not excommunicated, but remained still in the Roman church. The diocese of Paris at this time was full of Jansenist priests.[b] In 1730, the king issued an ordonnance requiring all the clergy to subscribe their adherence to the bull on pain of losing their benefices, but the parliament of Paris, under the influence of the Jansenist party, frustrated its execution, and maintained them in possession of their benefices.[c] The celebrated Jansenist journal, "Les Nouvelles Ecclésiastiques," which was first published in 1729, and continued to subsist for more than sixty years,[d] having been condemned by the archbishop of Paris, 1732, twenty-two of his clergy in Paris, who were appellants, refused to publish the condemnation, and many of the people retired from the churches where it was published.[e] Thus Jansenism was still within the Roman communion.

The parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Aix, Toulouse, &c. were the steady friends of Jansenism in France. About 1749, some of the clergy having refused to administer the sacrament to Jansenists; the latter appealed to the civil arm. The parliaments punished with fine, imprisonment, and *perpetual exile* those clergy who refused to give the sacraments to Jansenists.[f] The king in vain op-

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[y] Tom. ii. p. 30. [z] 44. [a] 45. [b] 54. [c] 74. [d] 105. [e] 109.

[f] 220. 235. 253. 260. 354. See also De Barral (Archevêque de Tours), Défense des Libertés de l'Eglise Gall. p. 113.

posed these proceedings: the parliaments almost invariably triumphed. In 1754, and the following years, the archbishops of Paris and Aix, the bishops of Orleans, Troyes, S. Pons, and many other bishops, were *exiled*, condemned, their goods seized, &c. by order of the parliaments, in consequence of their opposition to Jansenism.[g] The parliament of Paris "held the faculty of theology *under its yoke* for many years."[h] The Jansenists inflamed the public mind against the Jesuits in 1760, and under their influence the parliaments *suppressed that order*.[i] In 1765, the faculty of law at Paris was still appellant against the bull;[k] and the parliament continued long afterwards to punish any of the clergy who refused communion to the Jansenists.[l] In 1780, the works of Bossuet were published with Jansenist annotations by Deforis, a monk of the Benedictine monastery of Blancs-Manteaux, at Paris, "well known for its attachment to the tenacious party,"[m] &c. Therefore it is clear, that for the greater part of this century at least, in fact while Christianity subsisted in France, so long did Jansenism firmly adhere to the Roman communion, in spite of all efforts to expel it. But it is time to consider the state of other parts of their church.

V. GERMANY. The reforming spirit prevalent in Germany from the middle of the eighteenth century, is connected with the influence of Jansenism by the Romish historian of the period. (See above, p. 300.) In 1720, the Jansenists had adherents at Vienna.[n] The work of M. de Hontheim, bishop of Myriophita and suffragan of Treves, which was entitled "Justini Febronii de statu præsenti Ecclesiæ, liber," and published 1763, produced an extraordinary effect in Germany. "Already for many years Vienna had been full of reforming theologians, who took the trouble to reconstruct the instruction of the church. M. de Hontheim completed their work, and a sort of revolution took place in the public mind."[o] Febronius is said to have been "entirely conformable to the notions of the new canonists, who undertake to dispose of the government of the church, to destroy the legitimate authority of the

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[g] Mém. 288—293. 329. [h] 329 [i] 387. 389. [k] 474. [l] 508.
[m] III. 18. [n] Tom. i. p. 187. [o] II. 650.

holy see, and to renew all the maxims of the Protestants against the ecclesiastical power."[p] The system of instruction at Vienna is said to have been "more in accordance with the notions of some innovators, than with the ancient and common doctrine. Men who had studied Fra Paola and Van Espen" (a Jansenist writer), "and others of this stamp, more than the books and principles authorized in the church, devoted themselves to propagate the lessons of their masters; and pretended in adopting them, to revive the best days of Christianity. . . . . The church, according to them, was in a state of desolation and ruin, its government was vicious, its laws tyrannical, its usages superstitious, its discipline full of abuse, its doctrine even disfigured." They despoiled the Roman see of all its rights. "*They reduced to nothing this principal chair* . . . this *centre of unity*, to which it is necessary to remain attached, to be reputed catholic," &c. "De Hontheim, one of the most celebrated partizans of this system, saw nothing in the church but a sort of republic, in which the pope could not, without usurpation, have arrogated the powers he enjoyed. Authority he held to belong to the entire body of the church, which committed its exercise to the pastors. He allowed scarcely more privileges to the successor of St. Peter, than to other bishops; contested the right of the church to condemn books; and reduced her to be, even in that which properly concerns her, the *slave of the civil power*,"[q] &c. Such were the tenets, heretical in the opinion of Romanists generally, which existed in the bosom of their church in Germany; and which, notwithstanding the condemnation of Febronius by Clement XIII. in 1764, gained ground, and prevailed, and have continued to be held in that church to the present day. Such is the absolute unity of the Roman church in faith!

But we shall presently see Jansenism appear more openly on the stage. Even during the lifetime of Maria Teresa, the future emperor, Joseph, "gave the signal for innovations. The professors of theology were changed, in many places, to substitute others

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[p] 454. See Biographie Universelle, art. Hontheim.

[q] 453—457.

who had contrary ideas. They went so far as to deprive the bishops of the direction of their seminaries, and of the choice of theologians to teach there." On the accession of Joseph (1781), a multiplicity of laws, on ecclesiastical matters, were published. "The religious orders were forbidden to obey foreign superiors; many convents were suppressed; they were prohibited from receiving novices. The protestants were favoured; the clergy required to give an account of their revenues. It was no longer permitted to have recourse to Rome for dispensations of marriage. The imperial *placet* was prescribed for all bulls, briefs, or rescripts from Rome. *The bishops were forbidden to confer orders for some time.* In fine, there was an uninterrupted series of regulations, which changed all usages and subverted discipline. The attention of the reformer extended to the most minute objects. He suppressed confraternities, abolished processions, retrenched holy days, prescribed the *order of the offices*, regulated *ceremonies*, the number of masses, the manner of saying the saluts, even the quantity of wax-lights to be used in the service."[r] This reforming emperor was all the time in the communion of the Roman church, which was obliged to submit to all his regulations. So secure are the members of that communion against innovations in doctrine and discipline!

But to proceed: Joseph, it seems, "*left the bishops nothing more to do*, seized their revenues, excluded them from the states of their province, and *destroyed their sees*."[s] The superiors of the seminary of Brunn, lately appointed by his choice, "were accused of following the same principles as the appellants (*Jansenists*), of disseminating their books, and of seeking to introduce into Germany, the quarrels and dissensions which had so much agitated other countries." . . . . "Many bishops denounced the new professors. Joseph took cognizance of this question" of doctrine, "declared the three professors absolved, deprived their accuser of his place of archdeacon of Olmutz, ... blamed strongly those ecclesiastics

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[r] III. 20, 21.

[s] 22. He went so far as to issue a decree "qui obligeoit tous les *évêques* des Etats héréditaires à promettre d'obéir à tous les ordres qui etoient déjà émanés de l'empereur, ou *qui pourroient en émaner par la suite!*"—Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat, tome i. p. 236.

who had *dared to sustain the constitution* Unigenitus, interdicted the *pulpit forever*, and *in all places*, to those preachers who had spoken against the accused; declared that the bulls *Unigenitus* and *In Cœna Domini, having never yet been, nor hereafter to be received, should be removed from all the liturgical books where they were found*," &c. In fine, he commanded the seminary of Vienna, for the education of the clergy, to be given to one of the accused.[t] In short, Jansenism was triumphant. Presently "a new decree ordered an absolute silence on the constitution Unigenitus;" but, nevertheless, the court theologians *were permitted to declaim against it*, and to spread books in favour of the appeal.[u] It was in vain that several prelates, aided by the papal nuncio, remonstrated with the emperor, and represented that the bull "Unigenitus" was a judgment of the universal church. It was in vain that Pius VI. himself took the unprecedented step of going to Vienna, to obtain the cessation of these obnoxious proceedings. He obtained only some trifling modifications, and had the mortification to learn, on his return to Rome, that Joseph had issued an edict, assuming the patronage of all the sees of Lombardy, which had hitherto belonged to the Roman see. Presently he made a new circumscription of all the bishoprics of his states. He even issued a decree "*to remove images from the churches.*" This was of course heretical in the judgment of Romanists, and directly contrary to the decrees of the Synods of Nice and Trent, which they regard as œcumenical. Nevertheless, this heresy was openly avowed and acted on by Joseph without any censure, and in the bosom of their church. He next "suppressed some impediments to marriage, established others, and *permitted divorce* in certain cases." This again was contrary to the discipline of the Roman church. The archbishop of Goritz having opposed these innovations, the emperor "*suppressed his see*, commanded him to send in his resignation, and on

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[t] Mém. Eccl. ibid.

[u] Ib. 23. This imperial constitution, commanding silence concerning the bull Unigenitus, was still in force in the Austrian empire in 1809.—See Rechberger, Enchiridion Jur. Eccl. Austriaci, cited in "Report of Committee on Roman Catholic subjects in foreign countries" (1816), p. 112.

his refusal ordered him to set off for Rome."[v] "*He reserved the dignities of the church for the admirers of his system;* he engaged writers to undertake its defence. He protected, at Pavia, a society of theologians who, like Ricci at Pistoia, sought to lower the holy see, and to reform the system of instruction, revived the writings of the French appellants (*i. e.* Jansenists), *cried up their doctrine*, and formed a spirit of opposition, complaint, and declamation, the effect of which was to trouble, to weaken and to enslave the church. Pius VI. complained more than once of the imprudent protection which was given to these ardent and restless theologians. No regard was paid to his complaints."[w]

Thus we see the Jansenist heresy, a hundred and thirty years after its condemnation, existing in the bosom of the German and Italian churches, and propagating itself every where openly, under the protection of the state. Such is the freedom of the Roman church from heresy! Such the infallible certainty with which all controversies are immediately terminated among them! And such their independence of the civil power! The new system advanced in Germany. The archbishop elector of Saltzburg, in 1782, had published a Pastoral Instruction "against the luxury of churches, *against images*, ... *pretended that the worship of saints* is not an essential point of religion,"[x] &c. These doctrines, accounted heretical by Romanists, were thus avowed in their own communion; and, in 1785, the same archbishop and elector, with his brethren of Cologne, Treves, and Mayence, agreed to a model of ecclesiastical reform, drawn up by their vicars at Ems, which was in many respects remarkable. It declared, that "the bishops having an unlimited power of binding and loosing, no recourse should be had to Rome, passing over the immediate prelates. The exemptions of the religious orders were annulled; they were no longer to depend on foreign superiors. Every bishop was to dispense, even in

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[v] The memoirs of Pope Pius VI. add the sequel. He was compelled to take an oath of obedience to the emperor's orders, to confess that he had grossly disobeyed those orders, and to throw himself on his clemency. In fine, he was ordered to go to his diocese, and put the royal edicts in execution.—Mém. de Pie VI. i. 262.

[w] Mém. Eccl. iii. 36, 37. [x] 61.

cases reserved to the pope, to absolve the religious from their vows. Papal bulls to be of no obligation, unless *received by the bishop*, &c. *They decided on abolishing the oath of bishops to the pope.*" If the pope "refused to confirm the bishops, they would find in the ancient discipline means to preserve their office, under the protection of the *emperor*." This plan was objected to by several of the German bishops, but the four archbishops proceeded to put its regulations in force in their dioceses.[y] The pope remonstrated in vain. Eybel, professor of canon law at Vienna, having published books *against auricular confession*, and against the papal power, his writings were condemned by Pius VI. in 1784 and 1786, as containing *heresies;* but the emperor ordered the *suppression* of the papal decree, and Eybel, although a heretic, remained in communion with the Roman church.[z] The principles laid down at this time have ever since prevailed more and more in Germany. Similar proceedings in favour of Jansenism took place in Belgium under Joseph II., who in 1781 commenced a series of ecclesiastical reforms in this part of his dominions.[a] The privileges of the faculty of theology in the university of Louvain were suppressed, in order to introduce into it "sentiments more conformable with the views of the prince." "*The signature to the formulary and the bull* 'Unigenitus,' *were abolished;*"[b] and thus Jansenism was suffered to intrude. General seminaries for the clergy were established to promote the spread of the new opinions; and directors of the four faculties of Louvain were sent from Vienna, one of whom "had been expelled from Vienna for his *heterodoxy*." He was made "president of the general seminary" for the clergy.[c] The Belgians, however, were so angry at these proceedings that Jansenism could not gain a firm footing there.

VI. ITALY. Jansenism and reform went hand in hand through Italy during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The 'Exposition of Christian Doctrine' by Mésengui, in which, "under the name of Christian doctrine, the dogmas of a party (Jansenism) were frequently taught, and in which the condemned propositions

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[y] 60—65. [z] 81—87. [a] 75. [b] 76. [c] 76—77.

were renewed," had been censured in 1757 by Benedict XIV. Clement XIII. published a brief against it in 1761. "At this time the disturbers of the church began to make partizans in Italy. They brought into vogue an extraordinary and novel system of instruction. *Hatred of the holy see, and change of all the ecclesiastical discipline formed its basis.* It was but an emanation from the doctrine of the French appellants, who were from that time closely connected with the innovators of Italy. Both spoke only of abuses, reforms, exclaimed against the despotism of the pope and bishops, and wished to introduce into the church a system more to their taste. The kingdom of Naples especially was full of these reforming theologians . . . . The minister Tanucci was little favourable to the church of Rome. Serrao preached there the doctrine of the appellants." He afterwards wrote in praise of the Exposition of Mésengui.[d] Thus we see Jansenism openly taught in the Italian church.

In Naples, the minister, Marquis Tanucci, in 1776 suppressed seventy-eight monasteries of Sicily at once, *united some bishoprics*, and gave abbeys without the pope's consent.[e] Serrao, the Jansenist before mentioned, was named by the king bishop of Potenza, and notwithstanding the jealousy of the pope, succeeded by artifices, and the royal support, in actually obtaining that see.[f] It is needless to enter in detail on the various reforms effected at Naples in imitation of the emperor Joseph. It may be observed that Cortez, bishop of Motula, who was at the head of a royal Commission for hearing an appeal in a cause of marriage which ought, according to the former system, to have gone before the Roman see, "renounced the ordinary formulary by which bishops are accustomed to begin their ordonnances, 'bishop by the grace of the holy apostolic see.' M. Cortez had in fact suppressed this formula in imitation of some old French prelates *favourable to the appeal*."[g] Jansenism and reform had partizans, it seems, in the Neapolitan church as well as elsewhere.

In Tuscany, Jansenism was equally troublesome. The arch-

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[d] Tom. II. p. 403, 404. [e] III. 115. [f] 117.

[g] 120, 121. Instead of this he took the title of "bishop by the grace of the *king*."

duke Leopold "followed blindly the councils of Scipio Ricci, who was made, in 1780, bishop of Pistoia and Prato." Ricci "resolved to introduce into Italy the opinions to which France owed a century of disputes." By his council the prince issued frequent and prolix circulars, sent "catechisms to the bishops, directed the books which they should place in the hands of the faithful, abolished confraternities, diminished processions, *regulated divine worship and ceremonies*," &c. Ricci filled his diocese "with men subservient to his notions, whom he invited from all parts. He caused ecclesiastical academies to be established, where the *new theology* was taught. He wrote against devotion to the heart of Jesus, against *indulgences*, which he reduced to be nothing but the relaxation of the canonical penance formerly imposed for sins.[h] He changed rites, reformed discipline, overthrew the system of instruction, &c. A faithful imitator of the appellants of France, he proposed them as his models. Under his pen Soanen became 'a holy bishop,' Quesnel 'a learned and pious martyr of the truth,' other Jansenists 'lights of the church.' He caused their writings to be translated into Italian." Pius VI. remonstrated in vain against all this.[i]

In 1786, a royal edict was published, "in which *nothing was forgotten* concerning discipline, instruction, *worship*, *ceremonies*, &c. The smallest articles were entered into with the most minute exactness."[k] Ricci soon after held a synod at Pistoia to effect reforms. "He invited from Pavia, that school then fertile in friends of the *new theology*, professor Tamburini," and others of the same party, viz. "Vecchi, Guarisci, Monti, Bottieri, and Palmieri." In the first session 234 priests were present. They decreed that "in the latter ages a *general obscurity* has overspread the *most important truths of religion*, which are the bases of Christian faith and morality."[l] They afterwards adopted all the doc-

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[h] This doctrine, which was maintained by Luther, and for which he was condemned, was also maintained by Mr. Charles Butler, an English Romanist in the latter part of the eighteenth century.—See "Catholic Miscellany," vol. i. for 1822, p. 585. Butler has been charged with Jansenism by Plowden, another Romanist.

[i] Mém. Eccl. III. 1—4. [k] 69. [l] 71.

trines of Baius and Quesnel, and all the Jansenists.[m] They made a decree in which "they rejected the devotion of the heart of Jesus, *images*, and other pious practices."[n] The bishops of Colle and Arezzo held their synods after the example of Ricci.[o] In 1788, Leopold "abolished all the authority of the papal nuncios, *forbad all appeals to the holy see*, and marked himself the tribunals to which ecclesiastical causes should be carried."[p] It was not till 1794 that Pius VI. condemned the synod of Pistoia as *heretical:* but there was still a Jansenist party in the Italian church. "Two bishops of Tuscany showed themselves unfavourable to the bull." Solari, bishop of Noli, in the state of Genoa, "offered a public and formal opposition to the bull, and wrote against it."[q] Another Italian author is mentioned, who supported this bishop by writings "in which he showed himself a faithful copyist and admirer of the French *appellants*,"[r] &c. We are probably to attribute to the secret influence of Jansenism, the ecclesiastical edicts of the duke of Parma, in 1764—7; which established "regulations conformable to the system which *began to prevail*, to restrain more and more the authority of the holy see, and to enervate the ecclesiastical power,"[s] &c. Italy has continued ever since under the influence of these reforming principles, and the civil magistrate lords it over every part of the Italian church with perfect and absolute power.

VII. Even PORTUGAL was not exempt from the novel opinions. The ministry of the marquis of Pombal was distinguished in this respect. "He was seen to introduce even into the church his reforming views, to change, destroy, enslave the bishops to his will, to declare himself an enemy of the holy see, to protect authors and books which preached novelties, to form in Portugal a system of theological instruction altogether different from that which had been previously followed, and in fine to open the door to systems and illusions of evil doctrines, in a country hitherto peaceable and religious."[t] The bishop of Coimbra having issued (1768) a mandate against the perusal of evil books, which were circulated under

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[m] 71, 72. [n] 73. [o] 74. [p] 107. [q] 269. [r] 270
[s] Tom. ii. p. 530. [t] 367.

the protection of some government agents, was imprisoned, and the chapter of Coimbra was obliged by the king to appoint an administrator of the see.[u] Among the books circulated were Febronius (which was reprinted in Portugal), and Du Pin's writings, which sufficiently shows that reform and Jansenism had partizans in Portugal also.

VIII. The Jansenists of Holland alone seem to be out of the communion of the Roman church, but they exhibit every wish to be connected with it, and profess themselves some of its best members. In 1723, the Jansenist clergy of Holland, having been for some time without any bishop, since the death of M. Codde in 1710, elected Steenoven archbishop of Utrecht. This see it is true had long been extinct, but they were encouraged to restore it by the advice of "many doctors of the Sorbonne," and by Van Espen and other doctors of Louvain.[v] They were supported by some Gallican bishops.[w] Varlet, suffragan bishop of Babylon having fallen under the suspicion of Jansenism, was obliged to return to Europe, and resided at Amsterdam, where he consecrated Steenoven in 1724, assisted only by two canons; "which is contrary to the discipline observed in the church, and which is not permitted except with dispensations, that were not asked."[x] Varlet ordained successively four archbishops of Utrecht. Among the successors of Steenoven are mentioned Barchman 1725,[y] Vandercroon 1734,[z] Meindartz 1739,[a] (under whom a Jansenist synod was held at Utrecht in 1763, at which their bishops of Utrecht, Haarlem, and Deventer were present,)[b] Van Nieuen-huysen who died in 1797, Van Rhyn elected the same year,[c] Van Os consecrated 1814.[d] These Jansenist bishops have continued to the present age, assisted by fifty or sixty priests and a few thousand followers. They always pretend to be united with the Roman church, duly informing the pontiff of their elections, &c. in a most fraternal manner, and occasionally addressing epistles to him,[e] to all which they receive no other reply than bulls of excommunication, deposition, censure, &c. which they do not seem much to regard.

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[u] 545, 546. [v] Tom. i. p. 197. [w] 198. [x] 200. [y] Tom. ii. p. 8. [z] 137. [a] 166 [b] 440. [c] III. 408—9. [d] 629. [e] II. 506.

IX. The Romanists of the British Empire have been by no means exempt from Jansenism. Without speaking of certain priests in England about 1707, who instructed their converts to speak irreverently of the pope, of the invocation of saints, and of indulgences, and kept in their oratories the portraits of Arnauld and St. Cyran (noted Jansenists); or of the Jansenistical books then translated from the French; or of a priest in Durham who taught his scholars to read "the Provincial Letters, &c.;"[f] without dwelling on these and other facts, which might be adduced to show the existence of Jansenism among the Romanists of these countries, in the earlier part of the last century; it is pretty clear that towards the latter part of that century, and in the present, Jansenism has lurked in the Romish communion. Berrington, Charles Butler (the chief popish writer for a long time), Sir J. Throckmorton, Dr. Charles O'Conor, their most learned author, and many others, have been openly charged with Jansenism by other papists, and with very great probability. Mr. Plowden, a papist of considerable note, cites from Berrington's Memoirs of Panzani (published 1793,) passages which evince an evident partiality for Jansenism.[g] He also shows the same tendency in Dr. O'Conor, the author of the Letters of Columbanus, and in Mr. C. Butler. The latter, it will be remembered, held the same doctrine on indulgences as that of Scipio de Ricci, the Jansenist bishop of Pistoia, for which he was vehemently assailed by the priest Milner. His writings entitled the "Blue Books" gave vast offence to the strict papists, from their depreciation of papal authority; and Sir J. Throckmorton is said by the Romish historian of the last century to have published a "Letter to the Catholic Clergy on the Nomination of Bishops, 1792," in which "he showed himself little favourable to the holy see, whose prerogatives and rights he *attacked*, and he spoke on this subject like the constitutionalists of France." These sentiments are easily connected with Jansenism: and Mr. Plowden, in 1812, gave a striking account of the continued existence and prevalence of this *condemned heresy* amongst the Romanists of these countries. The genuine feeling which

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[f] Plowden's Historical Letter, p. 278. Dublin, 1812. [g] Ibid.

appears in his observations, precludes all possibility of doubt as to the sincerity of his belief in the fact: while his means of information leave nothing to be desired.

"When," he says, "a tenacious uniformity in strong error pervades individuals through a course of *two centuries*, it is evident, that the common tie of such erroneous opinion is systematic; and unless, therefore, the whole system be rooted up, the refutation, condemnation, or even punishment of the single error . . . . will only increase the contumacy, sharpen the zeal, and multiply the artifices of the leading members of the system. . . . . The direct opposition to God's revealed truth, is resistance to the authority he has commissioned to teach it. To this is traceable that prominent feature of Jansenism, *contemptuous hostility to the Council of Trent.* Abbé S. Cyran, the founder of that subtle and pernicious sect in France, held it to be only a political convention, and in no shape a true council; a mere assemblage of some school divines by the pope, where there was nothing but intrigue and cabal. *The manifestation of this symptom proves the prevalence of the disorder at this hour.*[h] *Would to God, the remedy were as obvious, as the disease is evident! No man professes himself a Jansenist.* We can discern them only by their fruits, as the Baptist did the Pharisees and Sadducees: 'O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance' (Matt. iii. 7). *I tremble and shudder at the ravages, which I see that terrible disorder making amongst some of the catholic flocks within the dominions of his majesty.* But as insensibility of infection and danger, is one general symptom of the disorder, I yield to more even than my historical duty, in sounding the alarm, in manifesting the progress and mischief of the disease, and in warning every pastor of a catholic flock throughout the British Empire, that there is infinitely less danger of destruction to their flock from the overt errors of Arians, Socinians, Calvinists, Luther-

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[h] He cites O'Conor's assertion (Columbanus v. 125.) that the Council of Trent has never been received either as to doctrine or discipline, in Ireland or France; and the doctrine of Walsh, another papist, that the council of Trent was neither œcumenical, nor occidental, nor free.—Appendix, 28, &c.

ans, or any avowed separatists, than from the *disguised poison of the Jansenists, who with unrelenting perseverance lurk among the catholics*, concealing their infection under an ostentatious display of external purity, with a view to indulge their lust for seduction, in the true spirit of their insidious founder.[i] . . . . I openly and loudly profess my wishes and intentions, but lament that I cannot strengthen my feeble efforts to extinguish the fire concealed under the treacherous embers, ere it burst forth into a flame, that may reduce the better part of the Empire to annihilation. . . . . I earnestly invoke every individual who tenders the purity of catholic faith and church government—"[k]

X. I pause here. It is clear that these gentlemen who vaunt so exceedingly the perfect unity, the irrefragable authority, the unalterable orthodoxy of their churches, and who build on these assumptions the conclusion, that they alone constitute the catholic church of Christ; it is clear, I say, that they have been, and are, infected with HERESY, condemned and execrated by the authorities of their church; and so much infected, that perhaps no part of the church is equally troubled. Jansenism still exists in the Romish churches of the continent. It would be easy to cite many works containing its principles and published in the present age. The spirit of reform which accompanies it still troubles their community. In Germany it cries against the celibacy of the clergy, and the withholding of the cup from the laity. It produces prayers in the vernacular tongue there and in England.[1] It removes images from their churches in various places, and, in all, continues to enslave the Roman church to the civil magistrate, of which we continually hear bitter complaints. To the influence of the same causes we may doubtless attribute the conduct of such men as

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[i] Ibid Appendix, p. 28, 29. [k] p. 37.

[1] For abundant and most interesting information on the reforming party in the Roman churches, see an article on the state of the Roman catholic church in Silesia, in the Foreign Quarterly Review for 1827, p. 515, &c. This article is attributed to the eminent author of "the State of Protestantism in Germany." [The late Rev. Hugh James Rose.]

Leander Von Ess, Weissemburg, and other liberal Romish priests, who form connections with the Bible Society, contrary to the rules of their church, or introduce various reforms and new systems of theology. But there are even worse doctrines than those of Jansenism lurking in the Roman church.

APPENDIX II.

ON INFIDELITY AND INDIFFERENCE IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

In tracing the existence of infidel principles in the Roman churches I undertake a truly painful task; but while I most deeply lament their existing condition, and with fervent sincerity pray that the spirit of irreligion may no longer continue to devastate them, I am obliged to state these facts in consequence of the rash and arrogant vauntings of Romish theologians, who pretend that their churches are united in the true faith and in holy practice, to a degree unparalleled by any other Christian community. The British and the Oriental churches are represented as devoid of fixed and settled faith. We alone are supposed to be troubled by the presence of heretics and infidels, while the Roman church is to bear away the palm of immoveable faith and invariable orthodoxy. It is a certain fact that many of the worst infidels in the last century were members of the Roman church, that they received its sacraments, and even officiated as ministers at its altars. Without speaking of the infidel publications of several French clergy such as the Abbés de la Baume, de Marsy, &c. during the middle part of that century, it is sufficient to remark that VOLTAIRE himself was, during his whole life, a member, and even a COMMUNICANT in the Roman Church! Yes:—he, whose unceasing cry as applied to our Divine and ever-blessed God and Saviour was: *Ecrasez l'infame!* was, horrible to relate, a communicant of the Roman church. In 1754, he received the eucharist at Colmar.[a] He again received it in 1761, "precisely at the time when his correspondence and his writings had the most marked taint of irreligion."[b] He again communicated in 1768, and *preached in the church* on theft.[c] At the same time he wrote to D'Alembert with reference

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[a] Mémoires pour serv. à l'hist. Eccl. pendant le xviii[e] siécle, tom. ii. 535.

[b] 536. [c] 537.

to his communion at Easter, "that he had already done it *often*, and, *please* God, would do it again."[d] In 1769, being ill, he *received the Viaticum* from the curé of Ferney, and delivered him a declaration in which he said that "he owed it to truth, to his honour, and to piety, to declare that he had never ceased to respect and to practice *the catholic religion* professed in the kingdom, . . . that he had lived and wished to die in the observance of all the laws of the kingdom, and in the *catholic religion*, &c."[e] In 1778, he sent for the Abbé Gauthier, and signed a writing, in which he declared that "he had confessed" to this ecclesiastic, "and wished to die in the *catholic religion*," &c. In fine, he was buried in the *Abbey* of Scellières in Champagne.[f] So that Voltaire, amidst all his assaults on religion, and while actually engaged in a war of extermination against Christianity, lived and died in the communion of the Roman church!

His example was not lost on his followers. Amongst the infidel association of the "Illuminati" we learn that there were curés, priests, and one who was raised to *high dignities in the German church*.[g] Cardinal de Brienne was connected with d'Alembert and the infidel philosophers, and was supposed to share their sentiments.[h] And who, I would ask, were those men, Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, De Savines of Viviers, De Jarante of Orleans, the infamous Gobel, bishop of Lydda and afterwards of Paris, Miroudet of Babylon, Gay-Vernon, Lindet, Lalande, Seguin, Chabot, Massieu, Marolles, Torné, Pelletier, Thibault, Minée, Heraudin, Huguet, Lefessier, Panisset, and the other constitutional bishops, who renounced their functions, sent to the Revolutionary Convention their letters of orders, mitres, and episcopal ornaments, and declared that there ought to be no worship but that of reason, liberty, and equality?[i] Who were these men, I say, but bishops, or at least priests, of the Roman church? They had received in that church their ordinations. They had imbibed in her communion the principles of infidelity, and though they were partizans of an institution which was under papal censure, (the constitutional church,) they were *not excommunicated* up to the period of

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[d] 540. [e] 541. [f] 638. [g] 618, 619.
[h] 503. [i] III. 242—253.

their open apostacy.[k] A multitude of priests followed the example of these bishops. Infidels and Jacobin priests were also found in Italy.[l] The infidel priest Geddes was of their communion in England, and if we place any reliance on the universal opinion of those who have travelled in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany, there are numbers of infidels not only amongst the laity, but the clergy of the Roman communion in those countries. Facts of this kind repeatedly stated and never denied, convince us that there are large numbers of unbelievers in the communion of those Churches; and it is well known that especially among the higher orders of Romanists, in England and Ireland, infidelity is but too common. Jacobinism and infidelity have been so closely connected from their birth, that Romanism itself may well tremble for its faith in Ireland and England: the principles so closely united in every other part of the Roman Obedience, cannot be separated in these countries. That they are not, in fact, we have the most serious reasons to apprehend, from the reckless manner in which even priests of that society have employed in controversy, all the arguments of infidels and Socinians against the holy Scripture, the Divinity of Christ, &c. And their pertinacity in upholding false and ridiculous miracles, shows a carelessness for the genuine miracles, on which Christianity is founded.

But the irreligion of members of the Roman churches sinks deeper even than direct infidelity. There is a still lower depth in which they are plunged; and I shall here avail myself of the testimony of the Abbé La Mennais, in a work written many years ago, while he was yet of the highest reputation in the Roman church. In the *eighth* edition of his 'Essai sur l'Indifférence' he says: "What do you perceive *everywhere*, but a profound indifference as to duties and creeds, with an unbridled love of pleasure and of gold, by means of which anything can be obtained? All is bought, for all is sold; conscience, honour, religion, opinions, dignities, power, consideration, respect even: a vast shipwreck of all truths and all virtues." . . . "Atheism," said Leibnitz, "will be the last of heresies, and in effect, indifference which marches in its train, is not a

[k] 200. [l] 368—9.

doctrine, for genuine Indifferents deny nothing, affirm nothing; it is not even doubt, for doubt being suspense between contrary probabilities, supposes a previous examination: it is a systematic ignorance, a voluntary sleep of the soul. . . . . Such is the hideous and sterile monster which they call indifference. All philosophic theories, all doctrines of impiety have melted and disappeared in this *devouring system*. . . . . From this fatal system, BECOME ALMOST UNIVERSAL, has resulted under the name of tolerance, a new sort of temptation,"[m] &c. He observes that "the state to which we are approaching is one of the signs by which will be recognized that last war announced by Jesus Christ: 'Nevertheless, when the Son of man cometh, he shall find faith on the earth.'"[n] Such is the awful picture of irreligion in the Roman church, for it is plain that he speaks of that church, and that it must be included under the terms he employs. Nor is this merely the statement of one individual. It is supported by the pastoral letter of the bishop of Troyes, on the occasion of his entry into his diocese, where it is said, with reference to the carelessness and disdain of indifference: "Such is now the great wound of the church, or, to employ the language of the holy Scriptures, her desperate wound; 'Desperata est plaga ejus.' For what can we oppose to this state of things? . . . . We know well the remedy for bodily maladies, but the remedy for this epidemic malady of minds, who shall find it?"[o] This evil therefore afflicts the Roman church herself. It is not merely found among her adversaries: it is within her own bosom. And in fine, it is so great, that even the Head of the Roman church has been compelled to lay open the condition of his community to our view. Gregory XVI. in 1832 addressed an encyclical letter to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops of his Obedience, in which the following remarkable passage occurs: "We come now to another most abundant cause of evils with which we grieve to see *the church afflicted*, that is to say, indifference, or that perverse opinion, which, through the frauds of wicked men, *has become common everywhere*, that eternal salvation can be obtained by any

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[m] Essai sur l'Indifférence, tom. i. Introduction, p. 21. 24, 25.

[n] Ibid. 25.

[o] Ibid. 28, 29.

profession of faith, provided the morals be correct and honest. But in a case so clear and evident, you will easily *expel from the people committed to your care* this most destructive error,"[p] &c.

Whatever may be the evils affecting our branch of the catholic church, we cannot but feel grateful to Divine Providence, that infidelity and indifference scarcely exist amongst us; and that as soon as they are planted by some rash and impious men, they dry up and wither away. There is, at this moment, more of evident religious zeal in the British empire, than in any other part of Europe; and this arises entirely from the vigour of a healthy faith in our branch of the catholic church, which triumphs amidst a thousand difficulties.

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[p] See Appendix IV.

APPENDIX III.

ON THE SCHISMS OF 1791 AND 1801.

THE anti-papal principle of Jansenism, lurking in the Roman communion, combined with the revolutionary mania, developed in 1790, the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" in France, under which false appellation the constituent assembly effected extraordinary alterations in *spiritual* matters. M. Bouvier, the present bishop of Mans, remarks that this constitution "abounded with many and most grievous faults." "First," he says, "the National Convention, by its own authority, without any recourse to the ecclesiastical power, changes or reforms all the old dioceses, erects new ones, diminishes some, increases others, &c.; (2.) forbids any Gallican church or citizen to acknowledge the authority of any foreign bishop, &c.; (3.) institutes a new mode of administering and ruling cathedral churches, even in spirituals; (4.) subverts the Divine authority of bishops, restraining it within certain limits, and imposing on them a certain council, without whose judgment they could do nothing,"[a] &c. &c. The great body of the Gallican bishops naturally protested against this constitution, which suppressed one hundred and thirty-five bishoprics, and erected eighty-three in their stead, under different titles.[b] The convention insisted that they should take the oath of adhesion to the civil constitution in eight days, on pain of being considered as having resigned; and on the refusal of the great majority, the new bishops were elected in their place, and consecrated by Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, assisted by Gobel, bishop of Lydda, and Miroudet of Babylon.[c]

M. Bouvier proves, from the principles of his church, that this constitution was schismatical; that all the bishops, rectors, curates,

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[a] De Vera Ecclesia, p. 411.

[b] Mémoires pour serv. à l'hist. Eccl. xviii[e] siècle, tom. iii. p. 149.

[c] 171.

confessors, instituted by virtue of it, were intruders, schismatics, and even involved in heresy; that the taking of the oath to observe it was a mortal sin, and that it would have been better to have died a hundred times, than to have done so. Certainly on all the principles of Romanists at least, the adherents of the civil constitution were in schism and heresy.

Nevertheless, these schismatics and heretics were afterwards introduced into the communion of the Roman church itself, in which they propagated their notions. On the signature of the Concordate between Buonaparte and Pius VII. in 1801, for the erection of the new Gallican church, the first consul made it a point, that *twelve* of these constitutional bishops should be appointed to sees under the new arrangements. He succeeded. "He caused to be named to sees, twelve of those same constitutionals who had attached themselves with such *obstinate perseverance*, for ten years, to the *propagation of schism* in France. . . . One of the partizans of the new concordate, who had been charged to receive the recantation of the constitutionals, certified that they had renounced their civil constitution of the clergy. Some of them vaunted, nevertheless, that they had not changed their principles; and one of them publicly declared, that they had been offered an absolution of their censures, but that they had thrown it into the fire!"[d] The government forbad the bishops to exact recantations from the constitutional priests, and commanded them to choose one of their vicars-general from among that party. They were protected and supported by the minister of police, and by Portalis, the minister of worship.[e] In 1803 we hear of the "indiscreet and irregular conduct of some new bishops, taken from among the constitutionals, and who brought into their dioceses the same spirit which had hitherto directed them." Afterwards it is said of some

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[d] 421. See also Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. ch. 5 and 7. Lecoz, one of them, is there said to have been "extremely attached to Jansenism." He was named Archbishop of Bensançon, and was surrounded by all the old constitutional bishops, who formed a sort of *synod*.—Ibid. p. 101.

[e] 422. It appears that the instructions of the government required, that *one-third* of the clergy should be taken from the constitutionals.—Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. p. 65.

of them, that they "professed the most *open resistance* to the holy see, expelled the best men from their dioceses, and perpetuated the spirit of schism."[f] In 1804, Pius VII. being at Paris, procured their signature to a declaration, approving generally of the judgments of the holy see, on the ecclesiastical affairs of France; but this vague and general formulary, which Bouvier and other Romanists pretend to represent as a recantation, was not so understood by these bishops,[g] and thus the Gallican church continued, and probably still continues, to number *schismatical bishops and priests* in her communion. Such is the boasted and most inviolable unity of the Roman church!

I am now to speak of the Concordate of 1801, between Buonaparte, first consul of the French republic, and Pope Pius VII. The first consul designing to restore Christianity in France, engaged the pontiff to exact resignations from all the existing bishops of the French territory, both constitutional and royalist. The bishoprics of old France were 135 in number; those of the conquered districts (Savoy, Germany, &c.) were 24; making a total of 159.[h] The constitutional bishops resigned their sees;[i] those, also, who still remained in the conquered districts, resigned them to Pius VII. Eighty-one of the exiled royalist bishops of France were still alive; of these 45 resigned, but 36 *declined to do so*.[k] The pontiff derogated from the consent of these latter prelates, annihilated 159 bishoprics at a blow, created in their place 60 new ones, and arranged the mode of appointment and consecration of the new bishops and clergy, by his bulls Ecclesia Christi, and Qui Christi Domini.[l] To this sweeping concordate the French govern-

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f 433. g 453, 454.

h 404. 419. Bouvier, de Vera Ecclesia, p. 420.

i Mémoires, 405, 406. Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. c. 3.

k 410. Bouvier, 420. Mémoires Eccl. de France, tom. i. c. 2.

l Mém. xviii. siècle, 418, 419. Mém Eccl. de France, tom. i. c. 4. One of the principal reasons adduced to justify these unheard-of proceedings, was fear lest the government, disappointed in its arrangements with Rome, should establish the Constitutionals, or even the Lutherans. So great was the evil deemed of losing the *patronage* of the state, that in order to obtain it, *all the canons were broken through!*

ment took care to annex, by the authority of their "corps législatif," certain "Organic Articles," relating to the exercise of worship. According to a Romish historian, they "rendered the church *entirely dependent*, and placed every thing under the hand of government. The bishops, for example, were prohibited from *conferring orders* without its consent: the vicars-general of the bishop were to continue, even after his death, to govern the diocese, without regard to the rights of chapters; a multitude of things which ought to have been left to the decision of the ecclesiastical authority, were minutely regulated," &c. The intention was, "to place the priests, even in the exercise of their *spiritual functions*, in an entire dependence on the government agents!"[m] The pope remonstrated against these articles—in vain: they continued, were adopted by the Bourbons, and, with some modifica-

[m] 420. The reply of the government to the papal remonstrance was, that "the French sovereigns regarded themselves as *les évêques du dehors*; that they had always exercised a real power in matters of discipline, public worship, and on the conduct of the clergy!" Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. p. 71. It was afterwards said by the government, that "the Conseil d'Etat succeeded the parliaments in ecclesiastical matters."—Ibid. p. 276. Every one knows the powers assumed by the parliaments; they were proverbially excessive. The minister of state, Portalis, directed the bishops as to the administration of the *sacraments*, and forbade the use of tickets of confession.—Ibid. c. 15. In fact, the correspondence between him and the clergy, resembles that of a pope or a metropolitan with his subjects. One of the most degrading obligations of the clergy was, to read aloud the "*Bulletins* of the Grand Army of France" in their churches!!!—Ibid. tom. ii. p. 41. Degradation could not fall lower than this. Buonaparte and his ministers also judged it expedient to publish the catechism of Bossuet, with *numerous* alterations and improvements, even in point of *doctrine*, for the use of the whole Gallican church. It was not submitted to the examination of the *prelates*; and the report was, that it had been drawn up by the emperor and his generals; but it was, in fact, prepared in common by the papal legate and some theologians, under the supreme control and theological dictation of Napoleon himself!—Ibid. tom. ii. c. 17. During all these proceedings, the Roman bishops of France were issuing charges, letters, &c. in which Napoleon was described as "a man sent by God;" and in which all the terms of a most fulsome adulation were lavished on the emperor.

tions, are in force to this day; and the government of the Gallican church is vested more in the Conseil d'Etat, than in the bishops. Buonaparte assumed the language of piety, while he proceeded to exercise the most absolute jurisdiction over the church. "Henceforward nothing embarrasses him in the *government of the church;* he decides every thing as a master; he creates bishoprics, unites them, suppresses them."[n] He apparently found a very accommodating episcopacy. A royal commission, including two cardinals, five archbishops and bishops, and some other high ecclesiastics, in 1810 and 1811, justified many of the "Organic Articles" which the pope had objected to, acknowledged that a national council could order that bishops should be *instituted* by the metropolitan or senior bishop instead of the pope, in case of urgent circumstances; and declared the papal bull of excommunication, against those who had unjustly deprived him of his states, was *null and void.*[o]

These proceedings were by no means pleasing to the exiled French bishops, who had not resigned their sees, and yet beheld them filled in their own lifetime, by new prelates. They addressed repeated protests to the Roman pontiff in vain.[p] His conduct in derogating from their consent, suppressing so many sees, and appointing new bishops, was certainly unprecedented. It was clearly contrary to all the *canons* of the church universal, as every one admits. The adherents of the ancient bishops refused to communicate with those whom they regarded as intruders. They dwelt on the odious slavery under which they were placed by the "Organic Articles;"[q] and the Abbés Blanchard and Gauchet, and others, wrote strongly against the concordate, as null, illegal, and unjust; affirmed that the new bishops and their adherents were heretics and schismatics, and that Pius VII. was cut off from the catholic church.[r] Hence a schism in the Roman churches, which

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[n] 504. Mém. Eccl. de France, ii. p. 317.

[o] Mém. 523—530. Mém. Eccl. de France, ii. 327, &c. 350, &c. 399, &c.

[p] 411. Mém. Eccl. de France, i. 310.

[q] 423. Mém, France, i. 312.

[r] Mém. 506, &c. Mém. France, iii. 220.

continues to this day, between the adherents of the new Gallican bishops and the old. The latter are styled by their opponents, "*La petite Eglise.*"[s] The truly extraordinary origin of the present Gallican church, sufficiently accounts for the reported prevalence of Ultramontane or high papal doctrines among them, contrary to the old Gallican doctrines, and notwithstanding the incessant efforts of Napoleon[t] and the Bourbons to force on them the four articles of the Gallican clergy of 1682. They see, plainly enough, that their church's origin rests chiefly on the *unlimited* power of the pope.

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[s] Bouvier, de Vera Ecclesia, Compendium Histor. ii. par. ii. p. 424, &c. Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. ch. 17. I may here add, that on the return of the Bourbons, the Gallican church, which had formerly boasted of 135 sees, found herself reduced to 50. Louis XVIII. and the pope made a new Concordate (1817), by which the latter actually *erected* forty-two new bishoprics, and the king nominated a number of bishops accordingly; but the French "chambers" proved refractory, and in obedience to their will, the pope cut down the number to *thirty* new sees.

[t] The Organic Articles contain an express provision, that the four Gallican Articles should be acknowledged by all heads of seminaries. The same condition was made in establishing the University of France, 1808.—Mém. Eccl. de France, t. ii. p. 268. An edict (25 Feb. 1810) declared these articles the *law of the empire*, and ordered them to be observed by all *archbishops* and *bishops*, universities, directors of seminaries, and schools of theology.—Ibid. p. 363.

APPENDIX IV.

THE ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF GREGORY XVI.

This letter presents so remarkable a view of the present condition of the Roman church, and it has been so frequently referred to in this chapter, that I subjoin a selection of those passages which are likely to be most interesting. It is entitled, "Sanctissimi Domini nostri Gregorii, Divina Providentia Papæ XVI., Epistola Encyclica ad omnes patriarchas, primates, archiepiscopos, et episcopos," and after a preface proceeds thus:

"Mœrentes quidem animoque tristitia confecto, venimus ad vos, quos pro vestro in religionem studio, ex tanta, in qua ipsa versatur, temporum acerbitate maxime anxios novimus. Vere enim dixerimus, horam nunc esse potestatis tenebrarum, ad cribrandum, sicut triticum, filios electionis. Vere 'luxit, et defluxit terra . . . . . infecta ab habitatoribus suis, qui transgressi sunt leges, mutaverunt jus, dissipaverunt fœdus sempiternum.'

"Loquimur, venerabiles fratres, quæ vestris ipsi oculis conspicitis, quæ communibus idcirco lacrymis ingemiscimus. Alacris exultat improbitas, scientia impudens, dissoluta licentia. Despicitur sanctitas sacrorum, et quæ magnam vim, magnamque necessitatem possidet, divini cultus majestas ab hominibus nequam improbatur, polluitur, habetur ludibrio. Sana hinc pervertitur doctrina, erroresque omnis generis disseminantur audacter. Non leges sacrorum, non jura, non instituta, non sanctiores quælibet disciplinæ tutæ sunt ab audacia loquentium iniqua. Vexatur acerrime Romana hæc nostra beatissimi Petri sedes, in qua posuit Christus ecclesiæ firmamentum; et vincula unitatis in dies magis labefactantur, abrumpuntur. Divina ecclesiæ auctoritas oppugnatur, ipsiusque juribus convulsis, substernitur ipsa terrenis rationibus, ac per summam injuriam, odio populorum subjicitur, in turpem redacta servitutem. Debita episcopis obedientia infringitur, eorumque jura conculcantur. Personant horrendum in modum academiæ ac gymnasia novis opin-

ionum monstris, quibus non occulte amplius et cuniculis petitur catholica fides, sed horrificum ac nefarium ei bellum aperte jam et propalam infertur. Institutis enim exemploque præceptorum, corruptis adolescentium animis, ingens religionis clades, morumque perversitas teterrima percrebuit.

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"Ad eorum itaque retundendam audaciam, qui vel jura sanctæ hujus sedis infringere conantur, vel dirimere ecclesiarum cum ipsa conjunctionem, qua una eædem nituntur et vigent, maximum fidei in eam ac venerationis sinceræ studium inculcate inclamantes cum S. Cypriano 'falso confidere se esse in ecclesia, qui cathedram Petri deserat,' &c.

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"Nefas porro esset, atque ab eo venerationis studio prorsus alienum, qua ecclesiæ leges sunt excipiendæ, sancitam, ab ipsa disciplinam, qua et sacrorum procuratio, et morum norma, et jurium ecclesiæ ministrorumque ejus ratio continetur, vesana opinandi libidine improbari; vel ut certis juris naturæ principiis infestam notari, vel mancam dici atque imperfectam, civilique auctoritati subjectam. Cum autem, ut Tridentinorum Patrum verbis utamur, constet, ecclesiam 'eruditam fuisse a Christo Jesu,' &c. . . . absurdum plane est, ac maxime in eam injuriosum, *restaurationem* ac *regenerationem*, quamdam obtrudi, quasi necessariam, ut ejus incolumitati et incremento consulatur, perinde ac si ceuseri ipsa possit vel defectui, vel obscurationi, vel aliis hujuscemodi incommodis obnoxia; quo quidem molimine eo spectant novatores, ut, *recentis humanæ institutionis jaciantur fundamenta*, illudque ipsum eveniat, quod detestatur Cyprianus, ut, quæ divina res est, 'humana fiat ecclesia.' Perpendant vero, qui consilia id genus machinantur: uni *Romano pontifici*, ex S. Leonis testimonio, canonum dispensationem esse creditam . . . .

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"Hic autem vestram volumus excitatam pro religione constantiam adversus fœdissimam in clericalem cœlibatum conjurationem, quam nostis effervescere in dies latius, connitentibus cum perditissimis ævi philosophis nonnullis etiam ex ipso ecclesiastico ordine, qui personæ obliti munerisque sui, ac blanditiis abrepti voluptatum, eo licentiæ proruperunt, ut *publicas* etiam atque *iteratas* aliquibus

in locis ausi sint adhibere *principibus* postulationes, ad disciplinam illam sanctissimam p rfi ngendam.

. . . . . .

"Alteram nunc persequimur causam malorum uberrimam, quibus afflictari in præsens comploramus ecclesiam, *indifferentismum* scilicet, seu pravam illam opinionem, quæ improborum fraude ex omni parte percrebuit, qualibet fidei professione æternam posse animæ salutem comparari, si mores ad recti honestique normam exigantur. At facili sane negotio in re perspicua, planeque evidenti, errorem exitiosissimum a populis vestræ curæ concreditis propelletis.

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"Neque lætiora et religioni et principatui ominari possemus, ex eorun votis, qui ecclesiam a regno separari, mutuamque imperii cum sacerdotio concordiam abrumpi discupiunt. Constat quippe pertimesci ab impudentissimæ libertatis amatoribus concordiam illam, quæ semper rei et sacræ et civili fausta extitit ac salutaris."

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CHAPTER XII.

THE LUTHERANS, ZUINGLIANS, AND CALVINISTS.

The societies of which I am about to treat in this chapter, are only those which were originally separated from the Roman Obedience. I leave out of the question those communities which have separated from them, and which are too insignificant to merit attention. It is needless to say, that the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists, are accused of schism and heresy by Romanists, in separating themselves from the church, denying her authority, rejecting tradition, and allowing private judgment to an unlimited extent. I propose to examine whether these communities did voluntarily separate from the church; whether they maintained principles subversive of unity in faith and discipline; whether they constituted churches of Christ; and whether it was allowable to hold any religious intercourse with them.

SECTION I.

WHETHER THE LUTHERANS SEPARATED FROM THE CHURCH.

This is a question which can only be determined by reference to the facts of history, and these prove conclusively that Luther and the Lutherans did not, either in intention, or by act, separate from the Roman church; that they were always desirous of a reconciliation, and that they were disposed to make great sacrifices for that object.

First, then, it does not seem that Luther had the slightest notion of separating from the church or rejecting its authority. It is well known that he was roused by the abuses of Tetzel, in the preaching and sale of indulgences, abuses which are ad-

mitted by Romanists themselves. In 1517, Luther wrote to the archbishop of Mayence, and the bishops of Brandenburg and Merseburg, urging them to repress the evil conduct of Tetzel.[a] In 1518, he transmitted his theses on indulgences to the bishop of Brandenburg, his diocesan, protesting at the same time, that he did not mean to determine them dogmatically, but that they were merely for discussion and disputation, as was customary in the schools, and that he submitted himself to the judgment of the bishop.[b] Nor was this all. In the same year he wrote to pope Leo X., with the greatest humility and respect, relating the excesses of the preachers of indulgences, his having informed the bishops, and his disputation against the dogmata of Tetzel, which he justified by his academic right of doctor of divinity, and by the faculties he held from the pope himself; concluding with an assurance that his theses were merely for academical disputation, and were not intended to go abroad to the world; and finally that he *submitted himself entirely* to the pontiff.[c]

Nothing could be farther from any appearance of schismatical conduct than this. It is obvious that Luther paid the highest respect and submission to the ordinary and existing authorities in the church, and that his principles and conduct contradict the notion that he designed to separate from it. Even writers of the Roman communion are obliged to confess, that for more than three years, that is, until he was excommunicated by Leo X., all his discourses were full of similar protestations.[d] Writers of another sort are too often disposed to pass over these circumstances, as if they were in some way discreditable to Luther; but the simple truth is, that he was duly impressed with the obligation of preserving unity, and had no wish to separate from the Roman church.

Leo X. having appointed cardinal Cajetan to be judge in

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[a] Gerdesii Historia Evangelii renovati, tom. i. p. 90.

[b] Ibid. p. 221. [c] Ibid. p. 221, 222.

[d] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 125. s. 73.

Luther's case, who was now accused of heresy, a conference ensued at Augsburg, in which Cajetan insisted that Luther, without any discussion to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the positions he had advanced, should at once, in obedience to the papal authority, (which he exaggerated in the highest degree,) retract his errors. Luther, in reply, protested that he would submit to the *judgment* of the Roman church; but declined to retract his positions until their error had been shown, because he had advanced them not dogmatically, but merely in the way of discussion; that he had said nothing in them "contrary to the Scripture, the *councils* and *fathers;*" and that he was ready to submit to the decision of the *church*. He treated Cajetan with the greatest respect, and even offered to be *silent* on the subject in future, if his adversaries Eckius, Cochlæus, De Priero, Hochstrat, &c., were also required to be silent.[e] In conclusion, finding that cardinal Cajetan had orders to *arrest* him and bring him to Rome, if he did not renounce his doctrines unconditionally, he withdrew from Augsburg, but addressed a letter to Cajetan, offering again to be silent if his adversaries were, and expressing his readiness to retract if his errors should be proved.[f] At the same time he appealed (as the university and parliament of Paris did almost contemporaneously[g]) from the expected sentence against him, to the *pope better informed*.[h] In all this Luther's desire of peace is evident, and it is impossible to blame him for declining to retract as errors or heresies, without any discussion or ecclesiastical judgment, what he had merely advanced in the way of academical discussion.

Cajetan nevertheless at once treated Luther as a *heretic*, writing to the elector of Saxony and urging him to give up Luther to the papal power, or at least to *expel* him from his dominions; but the elector most justly replied, that Luther ought not to be treated merely by the way of authority, and be

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[e] Fleury, liv. 125. s. 79—84.

[f] § 84.

[g] § 54. See also Gerdes, tom. i. Appendix, p. 60.

[h] Fleury, s. 85.

compelled to retract before his cause was examined and judged, but ought first to be lawfully convicted of error.[i] Still Luther, though well aware of the designs for his destruction, did not attempt to revolt against the church, but offered to accept *any German bishop* as his judge.[k]

Leo X. presently issued a bull approving of indulgences, and condemning all who disputed the doctrine relating to them which he there laid down.[l] This decree obliged Luther to take the farther step of appealing formally from the pope to a general council (a mode of proceeding perfectly legitimate, and practised perpetually in the Roman obedience.) But he denied at the same time that he intended "to depart from the sentiments of *the church*," or to "doubt the primacy and authority of the Roman see."[m] In farther testimony of his wishes, he again wrote, in March, 1519, to Leo X., (though the pontiff had already written to the elector of Saxony against him as a *heretic*, urging his banishment,[n]) declaring in the most submissive terms that he had never designed to injure the authority of the *Roman church*, that he would not trouble the church for *trifling* matters, and would submit to *all that was required of him* for the sake of peace.[o] He also acquiesced in the proposal of Miltitz, the papal nuncio, to be *judged* by the archbishop of Treves. At the beginning of his discussion with Eckius, in the same year, Luther and his friends declared that they did not wish to remove the doctrines of the catholic church, to which they always *desired to be attached*.[p] In 1520, he wrote to the archbishop of Mayence and the bishop of Merseburg, to excuse himself, and to request them not to believe him a heretic without hearing him.[q] Nor was this the last testimony afforded by Luther of his desire to remain in communion with the church. He had actually engaged Seckingen to procure him an honourable reconciliation with Rome, as cardinal Pallavicini acknow-

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[i] Ib. s. 86, 87. [k] § 88. [l] § 89. [m] § 90.
[n] Liv. 126. s. 9. [o] Ib. 12. [p] Ib. 25. [q] Ib. 51.

ledges,[r] when, in 1520, Leo X. issued a bull against Luther, in which it is declared that unless he shall revoke the errors therein attributed to him within sixty days, he and all his adherents shall be deemed to have incurred all the penalties denounced against heresy, that no Christian shall hold communion with them, and commands that their persons be seized, &c.[s] Finally, in January, 1521, another bull formally excommunicated Luther and all his adherents, all who should support and protect him, who follow his sect, or grant him their favour. All are to be regarded as heretics, whose company the faithful are commanded to avoid. All places where they reside are laid under an interdict, all bishops, &c., commanded to denounce them in their churches as heretics, &c.[t]

These certain and unquestionable facts, prove beyond dispute that Luther and his adherents did not *separate* from the Roman churches, but that they were excommunicated and forcibly expelled by the Roman pontiff. The German bishops received and acted on the bull and therefore the Lutherans were in fact separated from the external communion of the German church. But this by no means closed their connexion with the Western church generally, either in their own opinion, or in that of others.

It has been already said, that Luther appealed from the Roman pontiff to a general council. This was still to acknowledge the authority of the *church*, and to allow that the Western was a true church. To this appeal Luther and his friends steadily adhered. They renewed it in the diet of Spires (1529),[u] and in the diet of Augsburg (1530) they again appealed; they declared that they had not established any new sect or separated from the church; that they did not differ in *any article of faith* from the Roman church, but merely as to some *abuses* lately

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[r] Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trid. l. i. c. 21. Fleury, s. 63.

[s] Gerdes, tom. i. Appendix, p. 131, &c.

[t] Gerdes, tom. ii. Appendix, p. 15, &c.

[u] Fleury, liv. 132. s. 65, 66.

introduced ; that the bishops ought to continue,[v] &c. In 1531, the king of France understood them honestly to call for a general council, and held communications with them. They continued their appeal in the following year.[w] In 1535, Francis I. was desirous of inviting several of their theologians to France, in order to make some accommodation about religion ; he actually did invite Melancthon, but was induced to desist by the cardinal de Tournon.[x] Yet Melancthon writes to cardinal de Bellay, bishop of Paris, as a Christian prelate, and expresses his wish that the power of bishops should be preserved.[y] The

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[v] Fleury, liv. 133. s. 24. 26, 27. 30. The Confession of Augsburg (pars i. art. 22) says, there is nothing in this doctrine "which differs from the Scriptures, or the catholic church, or the Roman church" (pars ii. prolog.). They "differ concerning no article of faith from the catholic church, but only omit some *abuses*," &c. It says of bishops (pars ii. art. vii.) : "According to the Gospel, or *jure divino*, bishops, as such, *i. e.* those who have the ministry of the word and sacraments, have no other jurisdiction than to remit sins, to take cognizance of doctrine, and to reject doctrine different from the Gospel, and to exclude sinners of known impiety from the communion of the church without human force. Hence the churches ought necessarily, and *jure divino*, to obey them," &c. . . . . "The bishops might easily retain their legitimate obedience, if they would not urge us to observe traditions which cannot be kept with a good conscience. . . There is no design to deprive the bishops of their authority, but this only is sought, that the Gospel be permitted to be purely taught, and a few observances be relaxed," &c. The Apology of the Confession says (art. vii.) : "Moreover, we here again wish to testify, that we will willingly preserve the ecclesiastical and canonical polity, if the bishops will only cease from persecuting our churches. This our wish will excuse us both in the presence of God, and of all nations to all posterity ; so that it may not be imputed to us, that the authority of bishops is overthrown, when men shall read and hear that we, deprecating the unjust cruelty of the bishops, could obtain no relief."

[w] Fleury, liv. 134. s. 5. 30.

[x] Ib. l. 135. s. 73, &c.

[y] Gerdes, tom. iv. p. 118, &c. Fleury, l. 135. s. 76. See also l. 136. s. 44, &c. The Articles sent into France by the Lutherans on this occasion, acknowledged that "ecclesiastical government is holy and useful, so that it is *necessary* that there should be bishops superior to other ministers." Melancthon wished for bishops, "not to confirm their domination, but to re-

king of France approved the appeal of the Lutherans in 1537, against the assembly of a council at Mantua. In all this there is abundant proof that the Lutherans did not consider themselves to be really separated from the church, and that they wished to be united with it. It is evident besides, that they did not generally consider their own position and tenets so *fixed*, as that there might not be an accommodation between them and the church. Thus, in 1535, a correspondence took place between them and Francis I., and they sent twelve articles containing their religious tenets, declaring that they *were ready to retract if in error*, and expressing their readiness to concede much for the sake of peace.[z] They acknowledged that there ought to be bishops, and some went so far as to approve the authority of the Roman see.[a] The assembly of Smalcald, in 1537, did not allow the papal authority, but it approved of that of bishops.[b] Even in 1540 there were conferences in the diet of Worms, with a view to adjust the matters in controversy, notwithstanding the opposition of Vergerio and Campegio, the papal emissaries; who, however, finally succeeded in putting an end to them.[c] Another conference with the protestants was solicited at Haguenau, but objected to by Cochlæus, a Romish theologian, because the very act of agreeing with the Lutherans, in seeking some middle course, was, in his opinion, schismatical.[d] Notwithstanding this, the conferences between the two parties were actually renewed at Ratisbon in 1541, when

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establish their administration; for I see what a church we shall have, if we overthrow the ecclesiactical polity" (lib. iv. ep. 104). The articles of Smalcald, drawn up by Luther (pars ii. art. iv.), say, "The church can never be better governed and preserved, than when we all live under one head, Jesus Christ, and all *bishops*, equal in office, though unequal in gifts, are most perfectly united in diligence, concord of doctrine, &c. . . . . The apostles were equal, and afterwards the bishops in all Christendom, until the pope raised his head above all."

[z] Fleury, 136. s. 45.

[a] Ibid.

[b] Articuli Smalcald. pars ii. art. iv. ut supra.

[c] Fleury, 139. s. 53—56.

[d] Ibid. s. 91.

several theologians on each side debated amicably, and agreed on many of the disputed points.[e] The bishops of Germany, however, in a harsh manner, rejected the articles agreed on; but the laity and princes petitioned the emperor to hand them to the papal nuncio, and to consider the other articles in debate, in a *national synod* of Germany, if a general synod could not be obtained.[f] The protestants avowed their opinion that there might easily be an agreement on all the points in debate: even the papal nuncio expressed a hope that *they should all agree*.[g]

All these circumstances prove that the Lutherans did not, by any means, desire to remain separate from the church; that they acknowledged all its ordinary authority, regarded themselves as merely separated from the Roman see by an *abuse* of authority, and were ready to make many concessions, if there had been any disposition to meet them. The war of Smalcald, which soon after ensued, and in which the emperor endeavoured to subdue the protestants by force of arms, together with the decrees of the Council of Trent, which without admitting or hearing their theologians, decided several matters in controversy, rendered accommodation more difficult. But still they were willing to treat, provided the decrees made in their absence were not held binding; and, in 1548, Melancthon and many others submitted to the imperial decree called "the Interim," so as to admit the rites of the Roman church generally, without any material alteration, except in receiving both kinds in the eucharist. Even in 1551, they sent their ambassadors and theologians to the Council of Trent, which refused to hear them. All these things prove that the Lutherans did not voluntarily separate from the church; and that, at all events, for a *long time*, they desired to be reunited to its full communion. No small number of protestants, in succeeding ages, considered them as having gone to very unjustifiable lengths, and made much too large concessions for the sake of peace; but the truth is, they were deeply and duly impressed with the evils of separation, and its contradiction to the

[e] Fleury, 139. s. 98—102. [f] Ibid. 103. [g] Ibid. 105.

divine will; and felt that no obstacles, except those which arose from certain, clear, and irrefragable necessity ought to prevent union.

I do not mean to say, that there was not sometimes unjustifiable violence in the language of the Lutherans. Luther sometimes permitted himself to be transported beyond reasonable bounds, by his indignation at the tyranny and cruelty with which they were persecuted, and to inveigh, in unmeasured terms, against the doctrines and practices which he opposed. There was not less violence of language on the other side, and his tone was lamented by the wiser Lutherans.[h] He also exposed himself to just censure by several acts. His burning the papal bulls and decretals at Wittemberg, which has been unwisely commended as a noble act, seems to have been a useless ebullition of indignation,[i] in return for the burning of his own writings by the universities of Cologne and Louvain, and at Mentz and Treves.[k] But, allowing for faults on both sides, it is clear that the Lutherans did not wish to separate from the church, and that they were ready to make concessions to regain its communion. It would be, also, a great mistake to suppose that Luther, or his party, *designed* to effect a reformation of the church; they were driven entirely by the force of circumstances to adopt the course they did. It was not premeditated nor desired by them. They would have *widely* altered the Lutheran system, which was a merely temporary arrangement, if by so doing they could have recovered the communion of the church. But the opposition of the Roman see thwarted these designs; the Coun-

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[h] See Melancthon, Epist. lib. iv. Ep. 28.

[i] [Its form is hardly to be commended: but as the solemn protest of a member of the church in Germany, against the usurped authority of a foreign bishop, it was far from "useless." Luther had claimed to be tried by his own ecclesiastical superiors; and the false decretals, which he burned, were the foundations of the usurpations by which *they* were deprived of their due authority, and *he* of his just rights.]

[k] Gerdesii Hist. Evang. Renov. tom. ii. p. 14, 15. Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 126. s. 81.

cil of Trent rendered them still more difficult; and, in time, the Lutherans forgot that their system was merely provisional, pretended to justify it as ordinary and sufficient, and lost their desire for accommodation with the Roman and German churches.

SECTION II.

WHETHER THE ZUINGLIANS AND CALVINISTS SEPARATED FROM THE CHURCH.

Zuinglius observed the prevalence of errors and corruptions around him, apparently before Luther: and he addressed himself, in the first instance, to the proper ecclesiastical authorities in Switzerland, the bishop of Constance, and the cardinal bishop of Sion, in order to procure a reformation in the discipline of the Swiss churches, several years before any alteration was made.[l] In 1519, he was appointed to the principal church of Zurich, where he declaimed against indulgences, at that time preached in Switzerland; and was encouraged to do so by the bishop of Constance.[m] He also began to preach other doctrines opposed to the common errors. But, notwithstanding this, he did not attempt innovation in the usual rites. For five years Zuingle celebrated mass in the Roman manner, and persevered in all the usual rites and ceremonies. From his discourses some persons, in 1522, discontinued the fasts of the church, and began to eat meat on prohibited days. A controversy ensued in consequence between Zuingle and Faber, the vicar-general of the bishop of Constance; who, together with the chapter, had accused him of *heresy* and sedition, to the magistracy of Zurich. In this conference the Zuinglian party declared, that they only complained of the multitude of ceremonies, which were more grievous than the Jewish; but that they did not contemn all human precepts, nor did they, *either in act or intention, separate from the church.*[n] In this

[l] Gerdes. i. 105. Hospinian, ii. 22. [m] Gerdes. i. 262.
[n] Ibid. 267—270.

there was nothing of schism certainly; and the senate of Zurich, though favourable to Zuinglius, manifested its respect for constituted authority, by decreeing that no one, without serious cause, should break the fasts of the church, until the affair was more fully expounded and cleared by the *bishop*.[o] In May, 1522, this bishop wrote to the chapter of Zurich, to prevent and suppress the reformed doctrines, condemned by Leo X. in his bull against Luther, which he charges with schism, heresy, &c.[p] Zuingle *denied* the imputation of seeking to withdraw the people from the communion of their bishops.[q] He was again formally accused of heresy in 1523, by the Dominican friars. The senate desired to hear both parties, and the vicar-general was again called in to dispute with Zuingle. It was after this, that the senate made a decree that Zuingle should continue to preach as before, that the clergy should preach nothing except what they could prove by testimony of holy Scripture, and that mutual charges of heresy should be abstained from.[r]

Thus it appears that the Zuinglian party did not propose any separation from the church, and there is no evidence that they ever did so by any positive act; but the bishops and the opposite party treated them as heretics, and separated them from their communion. In many others of the reformed communities the case was similar. In France and Belgium those who embraced the doctrine of Luther or Calvin, were not only considered heretics, and expelled from the church, but were also severely and cruelly persecuted. I do not deny that, in several instances, there was a degree of turbulence in the introduction of the reformed doctrines, which cannot be justified; but all I contend for is, that there is no evidence that their adherents *generally separated* from the communion of the church. They were treated by those around them as heretics, and were thus cut off from external communion by others, and not by themselves.[s]

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[o] Ibid. [p] Ibid. 272. [q] Ibid. 275. [r] Ibid. 286.

[s] [Admitting the correctness of the author's inference from the very

It is true, indeed, that we cannot adduce in their case such manifestations of a desire for reunion with the church, as in that of the Lutherans. They did not, in the same manner, continually appeal to a general council, nor did they hold conferences with the Roman party, with a view to reconcile their differences. But the reason of this is, that they were excluded from all compromise by that party. It was one of the conditions which were required from the Lutherans at the pacification of Nuremburg, that they should not unite with the Zuinglians or Sacramentarians. The Lutherans themselves did not communicate with the Sacramentarians; and the latter were thus cut off by all parties, and had no hope of accommodation with Rome.

SECTION III.

WHETHER THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FOREIGN REFORMATION WERE SUBVERSIVE OF UNITY.

It is argued by Romanists, and too often ignorantly or artfully admitted by others, that the principles of the Reformation, in general, were subversive of all church authority, and all unity of faith and communion. We are assured, that its fundamental principle was the absolute right of every individual to deduce his own religion from the Bible only, to the exclusion

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general statements collected in the text, it may be doubted whether most of the prominent leaders in the French and Swiss reformations did not, as individuals, cut themselves off from the communion of the church, by schismatic acts, before their formal and final exclusion as a body; whether they did not wantonly disregard and violate the unity of the church, by unnecessary insubordination and intrusion; and whether, in many instances, they did not add heretical unsoundness to schismatical irregularity. With few exceptions, the history of the new doctrines in what the Lutherans call the "Reformed" and our author the "Zuinglian" communion, is a sorrowful tale of reckless prosecution of justifiable ends by the most unjustifiable means.]

of Creeds, Articles, catholic tradition, and the authority of the church; and to maintain, with unlimited freedom, whatever doctrines appear, to his own private judgment, most consistent with Scripture. This *pretended* principle of the Reformation is entirely overthrown by the *public* declarations and acts of all the Lutherans and Reformed, to which it is diametrically opposed. This I shall show, by adducing proofs of their acknowledgment of the authority of the catholic church, their use of, and reverence for tradition, and their condemnation of all heresies.

(1.) I shall first prove their admission of church authority in matters of faith, and of catholic tradition. The continual appeal of the Lutherans to the decision of a general council, in the controversies of doctrine and discipline between them and their opponents, proves that they acknowledged the right and authority of the church to judge in religious controversies. If they did not really believe that the church had such an authority, they must have been mere hypocrites in appealing to her judgment; but it would be inconsistent with charity, to impute such conduct to them without any proof. The same respect for the authority of the church was shown by the Lutherans in the Confession of Augsburg, where they declare that they differ in no article of faith from the catholic, or even the Roman church;[t] thus tacitly admitting, that it would, in their opinion, be wrong to dissent from the faith of the church. They declared, "that they had taken most diligent heed that no *novel* and impious doctrines should creep into their churches."[u] And as they rejected all new heresies, so did they reject all the old heresies contrary to the catholic doctrine, and condemned by the church formerly. The Saxon Confession says: "We condemn all the madnesses (furores) which are opposed to the creed; such as, the portentous errors of Heathens, Jews, Mahommedans, Marcion, the Manichees, Samosatenians, Arians, Macedonians, and others *condemned by true judgments of the*

[t] Conf. August. pars I. art. 22.

[u] Conf. Aug. Epilogus.

church."[v] The Formula Concordiæ says: "We reject and condemn all the heresies and errors which were rejected and condemned in the *primitive* church of the faithful, from solid proofs of the word of God.[w] The Confession of the French Calvinists concurs in the same principle of reverence for catholic tradition. "We approve in this mystery (the Trinity) whatever those four ancient *councils* determined; and all the sects condemned from the word of God by those *ancient holy doctors*, such as Athanasius, Hilary, Cyril, Ambrose, and others, we detest."[x] The Belgic Confession speaks of the "Pseudo-Christians and heretics, Marcion, Manes, Praxeas, Sabellius, Samosatenus, Arius, and others who were rightly and deservedly *condemned by the orthodox fathers.*"[y] The Polish Confession says: "We receive as a sure and undoubted interpretation of Scripture, the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed .... to which we acknowledge the Athanasian Creed to be consonant: also the Confessions of the *Synods* of Ephesus and Chalcedon; also whatever the *fifth and sixth Synods* opposed to the remains of the Nestorians and Eutychians, whatever the *Synods* of Milevis and Orange taught against the Pelagians from the Scriptures, *whatever the primitive church, from the apostolic age, believed and taught with a unanimous notorious consent, as a necessary article of faith,* the same we also profess to believe and to teach from the Scriptures."[z]

Hence it appears that the Reformation had a reverence for the doctrine of the primitive church; and accordingly we find the confessions of faith, and the writings of the reformed doctors, full of citations from the fathers and councils. The Confession of Augsburg quotes Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian, Jerome,

[v] "Damnamus etiam constantissime omnes furores qui pugnant cum symbolis; ut sunt Ethnicorum, &c. .... portentosæ opiniones, et aliæ condemnatæ veris Ecclesiæ judiciis."—Conf. Saxon. 1 De Doctrina.

[w] Formula Concordiæ, pars II. De Antithesi, &c.

[x] Confessio Gallicana, c. vi.

[y] Conf. Belgica, c. ix.

[z] Declaratio Thoruniensis, I.

Gelasius, &c. in confirmation of its doctrines. The Apology of the Confession is also full of references to the fathers, and in one place observes that the doctrine there maintained is "accordant with the writings of the apostles and prophets, *the holy fathers*, Ambrose, Augustine, and many others, and the *whole church of Christ*."[z] The Helvetic and most other Confessions of the Zuinglians and Calvinists, are full of references to the authority of the fathers. Melancthon and Œcolampadius composed books on the doctrine of the fathers concerning the eucharist. Calvin himself, in his Institutes, quotes largely from Augustine, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Bernard, &c. in proof of his doctrine; he employs their authority against others; he examines and refutes the interpretations of their sentiments advanced by Valentinus Gentilis and Michael Servetus, obviously admitting their authority.[a] Melancthon says: "May the earth open under my feet, sooner than it should ever happen that I separate from the doctrine of the church in which Jesus Christ reigns." On another occasion he says: "We have shown always, that we do not shun the true judgments of the church, nor will we ever shun them."[b] "We leave our reply to the judgment of the other churches."[c] [d]

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[z] Apologia Confessionis, III. De Dilectione (268).

[a] Calvin. Explicatio perfidiæ Valent. Gentilis, inter Tractat. Theolog. p. 779, &c. See also his Refutatio error. Mich. Serveti, in the same volume.

[b] Melancth. Epist. lib. iii. ep. 44; i. 67.

[c] Epist. i. 105.

[d] [The following is worth adding on account of its strength, and the importance of the document where it appears.

"Præcipuæ—cura sit hujus Collegii, docere et fueri *puram Evangelii doctrinam, traditam* in *libris Propheticis et Apostolicis cum quibus congruunt symbola, Apostolicum, Nicænum, et Athanasianum.* Hoc *unum genus doctrinæ verum et immotum, quod quidem est perpetuus Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Dei consensus*, doceri et defendi volumus.—Severissime prohibemus spargi et defendi ullas opiniones pugnantes *cum illo consensu*, et confessione nostrarum Ecclesiarum, &c." Statutæ Collegii Facultatis Theologicæ in Universitati Wittemburgica Pezelii Conc. Theol. Melancth. p. 187.—The

The respect of the Lutherans and Reformed for catholic tradition was evidenced on so many occasions, that even Bossuet is obliged to acknowledge, "que nos réformés sont *souvent* contraints par la force de la vérité à respecter le sentiment des pères plus qu'il ne semble que leur doctrine et leur esprit ne le porte."[e] And Blackburn, who pretends that the principle of the Reformation was to regard catholic tradition as of no authority, cannot help admitting that "in those days nothing was thought to be sufficiently confirmed by Scripture testimonies, without additional vouchers from the ancient worthies of the church: and accordingly Tertullian, Chrysostom, Austin, and Jerome, regularly took their places on the same bench of judgment with Paul, Peter, James, and John."[f] This statement is exaggerated, but coming as it does from an enemy of catholic tradition, it is a strong confirmation of the reverence of the reformers for the authority of the church.

(2.) The principle and practice of the whole Reformation was diametrically opposed to the notion of the *unbounded liberty of private judgment*, or the right of individuals to hold whatever religious tenets they judged most conformable to Scripture. It has been justly observed by a dissenter, that "there is a certain universal candour, or rather latitudinarianism, which is but scepticism veiled as an angel of light; and which knows not how to frown on sin and error; but on the principles of the New Testament, love to what is holy cannot exist apart from love to what is true; and this spurious charity is in reality nothing else than an angel of darkness and a minister of evil."[g] From so

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same rule is laid down for the interpretation of Scripture, in chap. iv. of the same document. Ibid. p. 191.

Equally strong expressions of adherence to the same principle are used by Melancthon, in his Defensio contra Flacium (in 1549, fourteen years after the date of the Statutes above quoted) citante Seckendorf. Lib. III. p. 109. a.; and in his Greek Epistle to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anno 1553; citante Hottinger, Hist. Eccles. Sacc. XVI. Pars. 5. p. 52.]

[e] Bossuet, Variations, liv. ix. s. 84. [f] Confessional, p. 20.

[g] Essays on Church Polity, Present State of Religion, &c. p. 13.

evil a principle the Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Calvinists were entirely free. The public confessions and actions of these societies evince their devoted attachment to the doctrines they believed really supported by Scripture and catholic tradition, their condemnation of those who held contrary heresies, and their determination not to tolerate such heresies in their own communities.

I have already cited some passages which show the aversion of the Protestants generally from heresy. The truth is, that their public confessions and acts are full of similar passages, and I must be content to mention only a few other instances in which this feeling (or rather principle) is displayed. The language of the Reformation was as follows: "We execrate all the heresies of Artemon, the Manichees,[h] &c." "We condemn all heresies and heretics who teach that the Son and the Holy Ghost are only in appellation God," such as the "Noetians, Praxeas, Patripassians, Sabellius, Arius,[i] &c." "We abominate the infamous doctrine of Arius and all the Arians against the Son of God, especially the blasphemies of Servetus and his disciples, which Satan by their means brought out of hell against the Son of God, and most audaciously and impiously dispersed through the world." "We abominate the Nestorian doctrine;" and the "Eutychian insanity, removing the proper human nature of Christ, we utterly execrate."[k] "All those heresies which have formerly disturbed the church, and are contrary to that truth, we detest; and especially the diabolical imaginations of Servetus, who attributed to our Lord an imaginary deity."[l] "We condemn the damnable and pestilent heresies of Arius,[m] &c." "We detest the error of the Anabaptists, who are not contented with one baptism,"[n] &c. The Confession of Augsburg "condemns" all the heresies of Valentinians, Arians, Mahommedans, Pelagians, Anabaptists, &c. Speaking of evil doctrines, the

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[h] Confessio Helvetica, c. i.
[i] Ibid. c. iii. [k] Ibid. c. xi. [l] Confessio Gallic. c. 14.
[m] Conf. Scotica, art. vi. [n] Conf. Belgica, art. xxxiv.

Articles of Smalcald say: "Such and similar portents have arisen from ignorance of sin, and of Christ our Saviour, and are really heathenish doctrines, which we cannot *tolerate*."[o] The "Formula Concordiæ" is full of condemnations of heresies. The Polish Confession declares that whoever shall send his children to Arian schools in which the sincere doctrine of the Gospel is not taught, shall be excluded from the Lord's supper and the communion of the church; and "whosoever in our evangelical churches shall refuse to employ the expression 'Holy Trinity,' him as one suspected of not being rightly grounded in the faith concerning God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, we *exclude from our communion*, &c.[p]

Such were the sentiments of the Reformation with regard to heresy. The reformers exhaust every term of reprobation in their condemnation of heretics: they reckon them with heathens, Mahommedans, and Jews; and those who would blame the severity of their censure, would do well to remember the words of God himself: "So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I HATE." Accordingly, they *acted* on this principle. The Lutherans rejected the Zuinglians from all communion, because they were heretical in the doctrine of the eucharist. The Calvinists in the Synod of Dort condemned and excommunicated the Armenians as heretics. The Swedish Lutherans excommunicated as heretics the Sacramentarians and the Papists.[q] Nor was this all. They asserted the right of the civil magistrate to interfere for the suppression of heresy. This doctrine is maintained by the Helvetic,[r] Scottish, Belgic, and Saxon Confessions; and they were so far influenced by their dread and hatred of heresy, and by the false principle of the lawfulness of inflicting capital punishment on those who

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[o] Articuli Smalcald. pars iii. 1. de Peccato.

[p] Thorun. Synodi Canon vii.

[q] Baazii Inventarium Eccl. Sueo-Gothorum, lib. iv. c. xi.

[r] "Coërceat (magistratus) et hæreticos (qui vere hæretici sunt) incorrigibiles, Dei majestatem blasphemare et ecclesiam Dei conturbare adeoque perdere non desinentes."—Conf. Helvet. cap. xxx.

were guilty of that crime, that too many instances are to be found of the execution of heretics. The cases of Servetus, Valentinus Gentilis, Campanus, Gruet, Crellius, Felix Mans, &c. are unhappily but too well known; not to speak of the imprisonment and banishment of a great number of others.

The truth is, that although some individuals in that age may have held principles which tended to the conclusion that every man was at liberty to hold whatever doctrine he pleased; that conclusion was not drawn.[s] The whole body of the Reformed held the directly contrary view. They were zealous for the Christian truth, and they exhibited that righteous and holy intolerance of falsehood and heresy which is one of the essential characteristics of Christianity,[t] and which alone subjected it to the persecutions of heathenism in the first ages, as it may perhaps to those of infidelity in the last. They had at least "a zeal for God," even if it was not always "according to knowledge;" and their conduct could never have exposed them to the divine rebuke, "I would thou wert cold or hot. So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will cast thee out of my mouth." Had the Reformation maintained the principle of an unbounded liberty of private judgment, so falsely and impudently attributed to it, there could be no occasion to inquire further into its merits. Such a system would

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s I am happy to be enabled to confirm this position by the unsuspected and highly important testimony of Mr. Hallam. "It is often said, that the essential principle of Protestantism, and that for which the struggle was made, was something different from all we have mentioned, a perpetual freedom from all authority in religious belief, or what goes by the name of the right of private judgment. But to look more nearly at what occurred, this permanent independence was not much asserted and still less acted upon," &c.—Literature of Europe, vol. i. p. 521.

t "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema. As I said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be anathema."—Gal. i. 8, 9. See Chapter V. sections i. ii.

bear so evidently the brand of infidelity upon it, that every Christian would turn from it with horror and detestation.

SECTION IV.

WHETHER THE LUTHERANS, ZUINGLIANS, AND CALVINISTS WERE CHURCHES OF CHRIST.

I have already shown that the reformed did not voluntarily separate themselves from the existing church, but were ejected by an abuse of authority. Consequently they are exempt from the charge of schism as far as regards the separation. Under such circumstances they had no remedy, and were obliged to remain as a distinct community until God should see fit to restore them to union with the rest of the church. They were to be regarded as brethren separated indeed from the external communion of a large portion of the catholic church without their own fault, but not internally cut off from it, and consequently still in the way of salvation.

But while this is maintained, it by no means follows that these separated brethren constituted of themselves churches of Christ, properly speaking. Their position was extraordinary, temporary, and was only justifiable on the plea of necessity. The system of the church, as it related to them, was disarranged and shattered, and they had to construct from the fragments a temporary and provisional system adapted to the exigencies of their case. They were harshly driven from the bosom of the Christian family, where they had been within the reach of all the means of grace, and were obliged to establish themselves elsewhere as best they could. Hence it is by no means necessary to the justification of these communities, to suppose that they really constituted churches, in the ordinary sense of the term, and were invested with all the graces and institutions of the catholic church. That the Lutheran and Calvinistic societies were not properly churches of Christ, I argue thus.

First, these societies were deficient in the point of visible duration. Every church of Christ, as I have already observed, must be able to prove that it has perpetually existed as a Christian society from the apostolic times, or that, when founded, it was derived peaceably from the apostolical churches, or was received and acknowledged as a church by such. Now this does not apply to the Lutheran and reformed societies, because they had no existence as societies prior to their separation from the ancient churches in communion with Rome. They were not the original Christian communities of their localities, but were unhappily cut off and separated from them. Nor does it appear that they were afterwards recognized as Christian churches, in the full sense of the term, by any apostolically-derived churches. Therefore there is a very great difficulty in supposing that they were really churches of Christ.

Secondly, it does not seem that they could offer any effectual opposition to schism. They acknowledged for some time that the Roman churches were true churches, while they themselves, cut off by the ordinary authority of those churches, were unable to invoke its aid for the suppression of irregular and schismatical proceedings, and had properly no other mode of treating them but by discussion. It does not seem that their societies could claim any of that ordinary authority which would have imposed an obligation on individuals to acquiesce in their regulations, and hence we cannot wonder that divisions multiplied exceedingly among them. This was deeply to be lamented, but it was the almost inevitable consequence of the unhappy situation in which they were placed. Had they been invested with the ordinary authority of the church, they could not have been troubled to such a degree with schisms and contentions.

Thirdly, whether these societies maintained sufficiently the necessity of sanctification, is not very clear. Certain it is, that Luther went so far in his opposition to the error of justification by our own merits, that he fell into a contrary error. His most ardent admirers are obliged to acknowledge that "he carried

the doctrine of justification by faith to such an excessive length, as seemed, though perhaps contrary to his intention, to derogate not only from the necessity of good works, but even from their obligation and importance ;"[u] and that "he not only removes the necessity of sacerdotal absolution, and satisfaction by external works, in order to the remission of sins, but relieves sinners in some measure from the necessity even of *contrition*."[v] However, the reformers generally, after a time, maintained the obligation of good works,[w] and condemned Agricola, the founder of the Antinomian heresy. It were to be desired, however, that there had been no leaven of this error among the Lutherans and Calvinists.

Fourthly. These societies were deficient in the point of apostolical succession in their ministry. They could not prove their succession from the apostles, by exhibiting the catalogues of their bishops descending from them. Far, very far be it from us, to blame them for any deficiency which arose from necessity ; or to assert that there was any sinful intrusion on the sacred office of the ministry, when under such absolute necessity, they resorted to unusual methods to supply their wants.[x]

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[u] Maclaine's Translation of Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 308. Luther's notions of justification can therefore be of very little weight.

[v] Gerdesii Histor. Evang. tom. i. p. 220.

[w] "Præterea docent nostri, quod *necesse sit* bona opera facere."—Conf. August. pars. i. c. xx. "Sunt enim facienda opera propter mandatum Dei, &c. propter has causas necessario debent bona opera fieri."—Apol. Conf. iii. de dilect. et impl. legis. The Formula Concordiæ, pars ii. art. iv. de bonis operibus, also affirms that good works are necessary, and quotes Luther, affirming that "it is impossible to separate good works from true faith." The obligation of performing good works, and the reward awaiting them, are also urged by the Helvetic Confession, c 10.

[x] [Such "necessity" could only have been absolute inability to procure orders from regularly ordained bishops. It will not be denied that Luther was virtually in possession of episcopal *jurisdiction*, at Wittemberg, after 1526 ; and Calvin, at Geneva, after 1541. They needed but to obtain the *order*, to secure the apostolical succession, at least. How far their treatment by the prevailing faction would have justified such an establishment of a

If they were placed in an extraordinary position, and deprived of the assistance of those to whom the power of calling and ordaining ministers of Christ was entrusted by the will of God, we could not blame them for having recourse to the best expedients within their reach. Under such circumstances, even popular election of ministers, or mere appointment by individuals of considerable authority, without any ordination, could not have been condemned; nor, of course, could there be any greater objection to ordinations performed by mere presbyters.

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new branch of the church in the West, is a distinct question, but comparatively easy of solution, on the grounds taken in the preceding sections, and in ch. xi. sec. iv.

Could they have obtained the *order?*

I. As to Luther.

Several bishops are known to have been favourable to "the new learning" and to its founder personally: *e. g.* George Polentius, bishop of Sambia, in 1524; his successor, Paul Speratus, in 1530; (Wernsdorf. Program. de Anhaltinorum in Ref. meritis. p. 1. s.) Matthew, bishop of Dantzig, who wrote to Luther in terms of strong affection, and sent him a present, in 1529; (Luther's Briefe. Ep. 1110. ed. De Wette. III. 462;) Matthew Jagovius, bishop of Brandenburg; (the diocesan of Wittemberg;) the archbishop of Salzburg, who preceded Ernest; (accessit, 1540;) and Herman, the famous reforming archbishop of Cologne, of whose liturgical labours so much use has been made in some of the offices of the English church.—It is hard to believe that if due anxiety had been felt, and proper measures taken, the episcopal succession might not have been obtained for the Lutheran communion from some one or more of these prelates.

II. As to Calvin.

Peter Paul Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, and more than once papal nuncio, went over to the reformed about 1546. His brother, also a bishop, followed him. Spifame, bishop of Nevers, became a Protestant in 1557. He was employed in important negotiations, and was *in Geneva* about that time. He was called to be "ministre" at Lyons in 1561. (Bayle, Art. Spifame.) Jo. Anth. Caraccioli, bishop of Troyes, publicly embraced Protestantism in 1561. He offered to resign to the people, but was re-elected and *re-ordained.* (Bayle, Art. Caraccioli.)

These instances (and there were others) show that the succession was within the reach of the reformer of Geneva, had he thought it desirable to secure it. He had not, therefore, the plea of *necessity* for its neglect.]

Certainly not: absolute necessity would excuse and justify such proceedings, however irregular.[y] But it is a very different question whether these ordinations were *valid;* whether they really conveyed the apostolical commission? There is an extreme difficulty on this point, because the whole practice and principle of the catholic church, and even of the ancient heresies, limited ordinations to the chief pastors of the church. It is not to be wondered at, perhaps, that the reformed caught eagerly at one or two misinterpreted passages in the Fathers, which they supposed to countenance merely presbyterian ordinations; but the weight on the other side is so great, that there must at all events be more serious doubts of their validity. Even conceding, however, that presbyterian ordinations are valid, there would still be considerable uncertainty whether they were preserved in the Lutheran and reformed societies; for it appears that several of their ministers at the beginning acted, and probably ordained others, without having been ordained presbyters themselves. Calvin was not even a deacon. Beza was never ordained; Bullinger, Brentius, and many others, seem to have been in the same case.[z] Luther and Zuinglius appear to have claimed extraordinary mission sometimes,[a] and Beza, in the Colloquy of Poissy, to the discredit of his party, denied the necessity of any imposition of hands, and admitted that many of them did not receive it.[b] It was afterwards declared in the confession of the reformed of France, that in their time, when the state of the church was interrupted, God had raised up persons in an *extraordinary* manner,[c] &c.,

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[y] [Will "absolute necessity excuse and justify" a man in assuming *to be* that which he *is not*, and *to give* that which he *has not?* Surely, the true excuse which necessity affords, is for the *wanting* that which cannot be obtained: not for the *pretending* to have that which is wanting, or to supply it without the power.]

[z] See Gerdesii Hist. tom. ii. p. 79—83.

[a] Fleury, liv. 126. s. 80.

[b] Fleury, liv. 157. s. 13. 15.

[c] Confess. Gallicana, Art. XXXI.

and their Synod of Gap decided that the vocation of their ministers who had reformed the church, was derived not from their *ordinary* vocation, but from one which was extraordinary and internal.[d] Now we may infer from all this, that a good many of the first ministers of the Reformation were not themselves presbyters, and therefore that there is considerable uncertainty as to the continuance even of presbyterian ordinations in those communities.

That the reformed were sensible that the mission of their preachers was not ordinary, and that it was only justified by necessity, we may fairly conclude from their relinquishing the ancient and scriptural appellations of the ecclesiastical ministry, and no longer pretending to ordain bishops and presbyters. Luther and Zuinglius assumed the titles of "ecclesiastes," while their adherent ministers were called to the various offices of "antistes," "pastor," "superintendent," "inspector," "abbot," "præpositus," &c. The ancient orders of bishop and presbyter were appropriated by the church. The Lutherans and Calvinists ordained to other offices, and thus evinced their secret persuasion that the church alone retained the ordinary and apostolic vocation of ministers. It would seem, indeed, as if the Lutheran preachers were originally regarded in somewhat the same light as the first Wesleyan methodist preachers in more recent times. They were not to intrude on the sphere of the established clergy of the church, but to co-operate with them where they could. Luther himself declared that he preferred that Lutherans should retire from a parish rather than preach there by intrusion; that no one ought to preach without the knowledge of the lawful minister; which should be so religiously observed, that an evangelical ought not to preach in

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[d] [Calvin distinctly claims such an extraordinary mission for the reformers. "Apostolos—vel saltem eorum loco evangelistas interdum excitarit Deus, *ut nostro tempore factum est.* Talibus enim qui ecclesiam ab Antichristi defectione reducerent, opus fuit. Munus tamen ipsum—*extraordinarius* appello."—Institut. IV. iii. 4.]

the parish of a papist or a heretic, without the participation of the pastor, because no truly pious man ought to attempt anything without vocation,[e] &c.

I conclude from all this, that the societies of Lutherans and Calvinists could not have been considered as churches of Christ, properly speaking; though they might have been called so in a general and popular way, as being internally united to the church. It is to be lamented, that in process of time the societies of the foreign reformation forgot the principles on which their founders had set out, and deemed it necessary to assume the office and character of churches of Christ in the ordinary sense; for this not only placed them in a false position in their controversies with Rome, but interposed a new obstacle to any accommodation between them and the church, while it led them to reject that catholic tradition which did not support their novel system, and thus to open the door for the intrusion of heresy and infidelity.

I have spoken throughout of the foreign reformation as of a thing that has passed away. Lutheranism and Calvinism are indeed now little more than matters of history; for the feeble and lifeless relics which they have left behind, and which still bear their name, are but painful memorials of systems whose imperfections and faults, whatever they might be, were dignified by a holy ardour and zeal for God and for God's revelation. Now, when the confessions of faith for which Luther, and Zuinglius, and Calvin would have laid down their lives, are thrown aside as obsolete, or subscribed with salvos and declarations which render the act of subscription a mere mockery; how can we recognize the existence of their faith? Overrun by the auda-

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[e] In ps. lxxxii. de Magistrat. tom. iii. fol. 488, 489, A.D. 1534. In speaking of the Lutheran ordinations, and generally of the state and position of the foreign reformation, I do not include the Swedish Lutheran church, because it forms a peculiar case, and I have not yet examined completely the question of their orders and reformation.

cious impiety of neologism, an infidelity which cloaks itself under the name of Christianity in order to inflict a more grievous wound on faith, or sunk into the deadly slumber of Socinian and Arian apostacy, Lutheranism, and Calvinism, as religious systems, seem to have nearly perished in the countries where they arose.[f]

SECTION V.

WHETHER IT WAS LAWFUL TO HOLD ANY RELIGIOUS INTERCOURSE WITH THESE SOCIETIES.

If there were probable reasons for considering the Lutherans, &c. as not guilty of schism or heresy, then it was lawful on the principles of Christian charity, to hold intercourse and communion with them. (1.) Now, it has been shown that they did not voluntarily separate, in general, from the church, but were excommunicated by the Roman pontiff; and this excommunication was not that of the whole catholic church, for it was only received and acted on by some of the Western bishops, who were apparently under the influence of the pontiff and the emperor. It has also been shown, that they did not wish to remain separate from the church, that they acknowledged its authority, and were willing to communicate with and obey their bishops, if they had abstained from persecuting them in obedience to the papal commands. Hence, more especially when they testified a desire to communicate with the Gallican, the British, and other parts of the church, it seemed that they might be considered very probably as not formally schismatical.[g] Doubtless the

[f] See the Abbé Gregoire's Histoire des Sectes, &c. Reports of the Continental Society; but above all, Mr. Rose's State of Protestantism in Germany.

[g] Melancthon thus states the case of his party: "We are not deserters from the church, we are not separated from the body of Christ; for those who retain the true doctrine of the Gospel, and are obedient to it, remain

writings of some of them were too violent, and they were not free from the imputation of tumult and disorder, but the more wise and moderate among them discouraged all such proceedings, and their violence of language was rivalled by that of their opponents. (2.) It was also very probable that they were not heretics. For, whatever their doctrines might be, it did not seem that they generally defended them with obstinacy against the evident truth. They received all the creeds of the church, professed to be guided by Scripture and tradition, and to introduce no heresies or novelties. Their opinions were not condemned by any clear judgment of the universal church, for the Synod of Trent, as I shall prove in Part IV., was not of binding authority. They varied in their doctrines, and some things which had been incautiously said by Luther and Zuinglius, were modified and corrected by their adherents. The error of Zuinglius, Œcolampadius, and Carlostadt on the Eucharist had been apparently given up by Calvin, who obtained a great influence in the Zuinglian and reformed communities. His language was strongly in favour of the real presence, though at the bot-

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members of Christ though the pontiffs should expel them from their communion. . . . This difference arose at the beginning from the reproof of a most scandalous sale of indulgences. Then the pontiff and his adherents met together, and the excommunication was fulminated. Are we said to be cut off from the church on account of those unjust decrees?"—See his Epistles, lib. i. ep. 67. which well merits a perusal. In another place he puts the argument very strongly from their Appeal to a General Council. "Those who *ex animo*, and not feignedly, *appeal* to the judgment of the church, are by no means enemies of the church, or seditious, or schismatics, or heretics: for it is written, If he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen or a publican. Therefore, so long as he does not refuse to accept the judgment of the church, he cannot be called an enemy or a schismatic." —Melanc. Enarr. in Evang. Joh. tom. iii. Oper. p. 797. [It ought to be taken into account, also, that their excommunication was, in most instances, entirely irregular and uncanonical. The usurped power of the bishop of Rome, in part brought to bear upon them directly, in part operating on the authorities to whom alone they were truly amenable, prejudged their cause, and deprived them of all the advantages of regular trial and appeal.]

tom, his doctrine was inconsistent with it; and the differences between the Lutherans and Sacramentarians, on this point, were not for a long time discovered to be insurmountable.[h] Many conferences had taken place between the Lutherans and the Roman party, and concessions had been made, which inferred that there was not any obstinate adherence to preconceived opinions; and the Lutheran divines had offered to *retract* if in error, and continually appealed to the judgment of a general council. All these circumstances combine to prove that there was great probability that the Lutherans and Calvinists were not heretics; and when particular persons or churches were convinced, from an examination of the several questions in debate, that the truth lay more with the Lutherans, &c. than with their opponents; or even, that it was equal on both sides; they were justified in not excluding the members of the reformed societies from their communion.

This will suffice to clear us from any charge of countenancing heresy or schism, on account of the intercourse which some members of our churches formerly held with the Lutherans and Calvinists. There was a great probability that they were not schismatics nor heretics; and as they did not exhibit an unfriendly feeling to our churches, there were good and sufficient reasons to view them with kindness and charity. The sufferings which we experienced, in common with them, from the persecution and ambition of the Roman pontiff, added sympathy to this general good-will; and the agreement on certain points of doctrine and discipline against Rome, may have perhaps induced us to give a better construction to some things than they deserved, and to overlook some faults which an unfriendly, or even a strict criticism would have condemned. It is possible that some of our writers, and particular members of our

[h] Even in 1560 Jewell could say of the Zuinglians and Lutherans: "tantum de una, nec ea ita gravi aut magni quæstione, inter se dissentiunt. Nec desperamus, vel potius non dubitamus, brevi fore concordiam," &c.—Apol. p. 63, 64. ed. 1606.

churches, may have been deceived in the question of fact, and esteemed the Lutherans and Calvinists more free from fault than they really were; but if so, it was a mistake as to fact only: there was no wish to countenance heresy or schism, which the churches of Britain have always abhorred and condemned. Even *churches* are not free from the possibility of being deceived as to the real character of those with whom they communicate, and still less are individuals, however orthodox and pious they may be in themselves.

OBJECTIONS.

I. Even if Luther and his adherents had been unjustly excommunicated by Leo X. still they were guilty of schism in establishing private conventicles, and altering the rites of religion. St. Augustine says, that "Divine Providence often permits even good men to be expelled from the Christian congregation, through the turbulent seditions of the carnal; which contumely or injury, if they endure patiently for the peace of the church, and attempt no novelties of schism or heresy, they will teach men with what true affection and what sincere love God should be served . . . . such are crowned in secret by the Father, who seeth in secret: they seem to be rare, yet examples have been found."[i] Therefore the Lutherans ought to have remained patiently under the excommunication, even if it had been unjust, and not to have established conventicles.

Answer. There was no reason why an unjust excommunication, which deprived them of the external communion of the faithful, should induce them in addition to *deprive themselves* of the means of grace, and especially the blessed sacrament of the eucharist, which is "generally *necessary* to salvation." Many of them were clergy empowered duly by ordination to administer the means of grace. Surely it would be most un-

[i] Augustinus de vera Religione, cap. vi. tom. i. p. 752.

reasonable to expect, that men who felt themselves not to have been condemned by a legitimate judgment of the church, should abstain at once from all the most sacred duties of religion. Good conscience would never have permitted such a proceeding. It must be remembered that they were *appellants* to a general council, and were authorized in not considering themselves as definitely separated from the church. St. Augustine, perhaps, only speaks of cases where there is no question of doctrine, and where those expelled have not to offer any testimony against prevalent errors ; but at all events, he does not prohibit such persons from using the means of grace if they can obtain them.

With regard to the change of rites it may be replied, that, under the circumstances, they could not obtain permission from the ordinary authorities to do so, for those authorities had separated them from their communion. The question then arises, whether they were strictly bound to adhere to rites, which were manifest innovations, abuses, things not enjoined or required by the catholic church, and injurious to piety and sound religion. Under the extraordinary circumstances in which they were placed, it does not seem that there was any thing schismatical in abstaining from such rites provisionally, until the church should decide the questions in controversy, and receive them into communion again. And this was what the Lutherans did ; for they were ready to make alterations in order to regain communion with the church ; and the Zuinglians would doubtless have done the same, only that their doctrine on the eucharist excluded them from all accommodation.[k]

II. The Reformation was effected in most places by the authority of the civil magistrate, who had no right to interfere in

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[k] [It will be observed that the author's answer tends to the exculpation of the Lutherans, &c., for *continuing to minister in orders already received*, and for *reforming the rites* by which they ministered ; but does not touch the very serious charge of schismatic usurpation in professing to convey authority to minister *to others*, as *their* successors.]

questions of doctrine and discipline; therefore the Reformation, as emanating from an usurped and intrusive authority, was schismatical.

Answer. The magistrates were obliged, in several instances, to take some measures in religion; because the public peace was endangered by the contending parties. This was the case at Basle, Geneva, and elsewhere. In other places, as at Zurich, the magistrates were obliged to examine the question, in consequence of the applications of the Romish party to put down by *force* the doctrines of the Reformation. In many cases simple protection was afforded by the civil magistrate, as in Friesland, Goslar, Holstein, Dithmar, &c. At Strasburg the senate would not give up the married clergy to be *punished* by the bishop, until he had first punished those who were guilty of more scandalous crimes; and when they finally suspended mass according to the Roman rite, it was only conditionally, until its supporters should prove it conformable to the word of God.[l]

I do not deny, however, that the civil magistrates did overstep occasionally their legitimate office; but those regulations, which they made by the desire and advice of the Lutherans and Calvinists, for their societies, are not to be reckoned among intrusions on the office of the church. Zuinglius himself, who has been accused of attributing too much to the civil magistrates, says, that "the civil power (which is placed in supreme authority, in order to correct and regulate externals,) when it is *Christian*, may, with the *consent of the church*, (for I do not wish to be understood without that consent,) make laws concerning those externals, which are either to be observed or neglected."[m] Such was the principle on which the regulations of the civil magistrates in religion were generally made. And besides this, they were, as I have already observed, only of a temporary, provisional nature. It must be remembered too, that the Em-

[l] Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 120. 206.

[m] Gerdes. tom. i. supplement. ad p. 286 and 287.

peror Charles V. in 1548, published, by his own authority, the Interim,[n] which contains numerous regulations concerning doctrine and discipline, and which he forced on his subjects. The Diet of Ratisbon, in 1540, took cognizance of religious questions; and even Erasmus gave it as his opinion to the magistrates of Basle, that the diet of the empire might permit the clergy to marry, and the religious to leave their convents.[o] Therefore the Lutherans, &c. were not the only persons who allowed the authority of the civil magistrates.

III. The Arians, Apollinarians, and other heretics might have alleged also that they were unjustly condemned by the church; and if the merits of the church's judgments are to be inquired into, there can be no use in them, for controversy will be perpetual.

Answer. I do not examine whether the church judged justly or unjustly, but what I contend is, that the church did not judge at all in these controversies. I shall hereafter prove (Part IV.) that the papal decree and the Synod of Trent alone did not convey the judgment of the catholic church. The Arians and other ancient heretics were condemned by clear and undoubted decisions of the universal church, and their only resource was to deny its authority and assert that it was apostate.

IV. Many theologians of the reformed communities confess that they separated themselves from the Roman church. Luther said, that at the beginning he stood alone.

Answer. They separated from the *errors* commonly held, but not from the communion of the church; as archbishop Laud truly said: "The protestants did not depart; for departure is voluntary, so was not theirs. I say not theirs, taking their whole body and cause together. For that some among them were peevish, and some ignorantly zealous, is neither to be doubted, nor is there danger in confessing it."[p] When Luther said that he stood alone, he meant that he was almost the only

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[n] Fleury, liv. 145. s. 19. [o] Gerdes. tom. ii. p. 296.

[p] Laud, Conference with Fisher, § 21. No. 3.

person who conspicuously, and in the face of the world, maintained his doctrines; but he knew that many others, though less conspicuously, approved and defended them.

V. It is inconsistent with Christian charity to deny the Lutheran and reformed communities to be churches of Christ, because, according to the principles here laid down, salvation is only offered in the church, so that the Protestants must be excluded from salvation. And besides this, it is pronounced unlawful to separate from the Roman church, and thus men are encouraged to remain in the profession of superstition and error. On such principles, the Reformation could never have taken place.

Answer. (1.) I have shown that the adherents of the Reformation were not in schism or heresy, therefore they were only separated from the external communion of the church, and were not out of the way of salvation. (2.) While it is maintained that it would have been unlawful to separate from the existing church, it is also affirmed that *the truth* should always be supported and advocated, without violence and uncharitable zeal; and if, in consequence, the rulers of the church, misled by a false authority, should excommunicate one who holds the truth, he is free from offence, and is not bound to retract, nor to cease his exertions to be of use to the brethren. Therefore the Reformation would not have been impeded by the principles here maintained, which in fact were those of the reformers themselves. And if they had been able to remain in the church, the Reformation would probably have been far more extensive, and would have better merited its name, for it would have been accomplished in a more orderly manner.

VI. Several theologians, even of the British churches, have acknowledged the Lutherans and reformed to be churches of Christ.

Answer. I admit that this opinion has been held by some writers, but they seem to have been influenced by the notion, that it was necessary for the justification of both the Protestants and the British churches. However, scarcely any theologian

affirmed that these foreign communities were perfect in all respects, according to the institution of Christ; and most of those who give them the title of churches do so in a general sense, not meaning that they are churches in the strict sense of the term.

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE SEPARATISTS FROM THE BRITISH CHURCHES.

I AM now to speak of the societies which are separated from the communion of the British churches. As I consider elsewhere the character of the Roman and the Scottish Presbyterian communities,[a] it only remains here to treat of the various sects of dissent. Of these communities, whether collectively or individually considered, I affirm, that they are no part of the church of Christ. This question has been recently so well treated by many able writers, that very little need be said on the subject.

SECTION I.

ON THE ORIGIN OF DISSENT.

The dissenting societies cannot be supposed to constitute the true church of Christ, to the *exclusion* of the more ancient and infinitely greater churches of the East and West, the Lutherans and Calvinists; for it has been proved, that the church of Christ must always be morally universal.[b] Now, dissenting communities only exist in Britain, in the United States, and in a few of the English colonies. They are unknown on the continent of Europe, in Asia, Africa, South America, that is, in nearly the whole world. It is impossible that a party so small, so unknown to the world at large, can be that "mountain filling the whole earth," that "city set upon a hill which cannot be hid." Even if we were to add the Lutherans and Calvinists to their number, their church would be still unknown in the greatest part of the world.

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[a] Part II. Chapter II. IX.

[b] Chapter VII.

There is another proof that they cannot alone constitute the church of Christ. Whatever be their present state, it is certain that about two hundred and fifty years ago, they were entirely unknown, that they even did not exist. We know perfectly when these societies arose, and who were their founders. We know that Robinson, the author of Independency, lived in the reign of Elizabeth and James, that Jacobs founded the first Congregational church about 1616, that Jesse established the first Baptist church in 1640. We can tell when the various existing denominations of Quakers, Presbyterians, Swedenborgians, Socinians, Moravians, Huntingdonians, Wesleyans, Whitfieldites, Kilhamites, Jumpers, Ranters, the followers of Johanna Southcote, Irvingites, &c. first arose: their origin is comparatively recent. If these societies alone constitute the true visible church of Christ, we should be at a loss to discover where that church existed two hundred and fifty years ago.

It has been proved that there must always be a visible and a universal church of Christ on earth. It is therefore in vain to allege that some individuals may have held the truth in secret, in the midst of an apostate and anti-christian church. This would not be any answer to the question where the visible church of Christ existed. It would be equally vain to attempt to trace this visible church in the various sects of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wickliffites, Hussites, Anabaptists, &c.: for, independently of the fact that none of these societies possessed the antiquity and *universality* of the church of Christ, the dissenting communities now existing cannot trace their descent from, nor their communion with, these more ancient sects.

Hence, we may not unreasonably conclude, that the various denominations of separatists cannot constitute the church of Christ, to the exclusion of other greater and more ancient societies: and, what has been observed of them collectively, applies of course still more strongly to each of them in particular.

It must be admitted then, that the dissenters can only form a small portion of the church of Christ, if they belong to it at

all. We must look elsewhere for the great majority of that church; and since, even the Lutheran and Calvinistic societies, in addition to the dissenters, would not take up a church such as the Scripture points out; the more ancient societies of the Greek, if not of the Roman communion, must be added. Now, if it be conceded, that the Greek or Latin churches, and the Lutheran and Calvinistic societies are parts of the catholic visible church, it is impossible to exclude the British churches from the same privilege; for there is nothing objected to them by dissenters, which might not be equally objected to all the other ancient churches of the East and West, and to the Lutherans and Calvinists. All are more or less established, and influenced by the civil magistrate. None of them are modelled according to the congregational form. In none are the clergy elected or deposed by the suffrage of the people. All have rites and ceremonies of human invention, imposed by human authority, creeds, articles of faith, confessions, liturgies, &c. It is therefore impossible, in admitting that the Lutherans, Greeks, &c. are part of the church, to deny that our churches are also churches of Christ.

If then the British churches continue to be churches of Christ, even to the present time; they must have been so when these various communities separated from them, and constituted a rival worship. But I have already proved that separation from a Christian church is incapable of excuse, that no reason can possibly justify it, and that the society so formed by such an act of separation is entirely cut off from Christian unity and from the true church of Christ.[c]

This fixes ineffaceably the mark of schism on the origin of all those communities, which separated themselves from the British churches. For they not only separated themselves from this branch of the visible catholic church, but did so on principles which involved separation from every other part of the church equally; and accordingly they held communion

[c] Chapter IV. sect. ii.

with no church which existed previously to their separation, nor were they acknowledged afterwards by any ancient church as a portion of the church of Christ.

The first separatists from the church of England maintained that her forms of government, and her ritual were idolatrous and Antichristian, and that in consequence she was not a church of Christ, but a synagogue of Satan, from which they were bound to come forth.[d] The conclusion followed of course from their principle; but that principle condemned as Antichristian, not merely the existing church of England, but *all other* churches for many ages, even up to the time of the apostles. On this principle then the church must have *entirely failed* for several ages; a position which is decidedly heretical and Antichristian.

They denied her to be a true church because her commmunion comprises *sinners*, and maintained the duty of separating from her on this account.[e] On the same principle they must have held it a duty to have separated from every Christian community for many centuries previously, and thus again denied the perpetuity of the church of Christ.

The same may be said of their plea for separation, grounded on the pretence, that the imposition of creeds, articles of faith, rites, ceremonies, &c. by authority of the church, was an act of rebellion against the sole authority of Christ, as king and

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[d] Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation, Works, vol. ii. p. 481—483. 549. Brown, in his book on the Life and Manners of the Christians, (1582), asserts that the English church government is "Antichristian," that the clergy "enchant" the bread and wine by graces and prayers, make an idol of it, &c. The Apology of the Brownists (1604) maintained that the church's government and worship were Antichristian (art. 29, 30), that the English is not a part of the Christian church (art. 31), that "all who will be saved are bound to come forth of this Antichristian church" (32), that it was the duty of the civil magistrate to suppress and root out the ministry of the church and apply its property to civil uses, and to establish and maintain by law the true religion (39). See also Neal's Puritans, vol. i. c. 4, 5, 6.

[e] Owen's True Nature of a Gospel Church.

legislator in his church.[f] This had been notoriously practised by all Christian churches from the earliest ages, consequently the church of Christ must have been apostate and entirely failed, until the dissenters arose in the seventeenth century; a position which is equally absurd and heretical.

Therefore their separation from the church of England was founded not only in schism but in heresy, and this being the case, they could not have been any part of the church of Christ, nor were they capable of forming Christian churches.

SECTION II.

ON DISSENTING PRINCIPLES AS AFFECTING UNITY.

I shall not here dwell on the actual existence of divisions, separations, and heresies among dissenters, because every system is occasionally abused, and such evils may not be its proper result, but may arise from the violation of its principles. Yet it must be confessed, that the religious disorganization of dissent is something extraordinary and unprecedented. One of themselves admits that "the most remarkable and flagrant circumstance that fixes the attention of the Christian philosopher, is the inveterate and incurable sectarism that distinguishes our British Christianity. No people of any age or climate have carried the evil of religious faction and endless division to a more extraordinary height. No religious evil (in the present day) more resolutely defies correction than the evil of schism."[g] These remarks are perfectly true: but dissenters persuade themselves that the evil does not arise from their own principles. "Can it be shown," they say, "that the tendency of the congregational *system* is to generate and foster the evils under review?"[h] I say, it can be clearly shown. The dis-

[f] Towgood on Dissent.

[g] Eclectic Review for 1831, p. 192.

[h] Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. On Ch. Polity, p. 171.

senting *system*, the *principle* of dissent, is exactly the cause of all their divisions; it leads necessarily to tumult, division, separation, heresy without limit; it leads to the conclusion that schism is altogether inoffensive and may be made a matter of joke; and it actually leads to the adoption of this Antichristian principle into their system, as highly salutary, and even essential to its proper working.

According to them, a church is a voluntary society of professing saints, which is complete in itself, subject to no jurisdiction but its own, competent to make and execute its own laws, acknowledging no rule but Scripture, and possessing the ability to ascertain its directions. The voice of the society decides everything, every measure is proposed and discussed, and the majority determines the matter.[i] Such is the system and principle of dissent: whence it is clear that frequent discussion, debate, voting, are essential to it, and therefore there must be a perpetual excitement to anger, jealousy, party-spirit, ambition, and to all the elements of division. And these contending elements are pent up in each little community and compelled to ferment there, because no external authority whatever is allowed. Nor is this all. It is the principle of dissenters, that no human authority can be admitted in religious matters.[k] Therefore the minority in any question in their churches cannot feel it their duty to yield to the majority, because the judgment of that majority is merely human; and hence it follows that discussions among them are interminable except by a total separation. Voluntary separation or dissolution of their societies is in short their only remedy against violent explosions; and injurious as it is to their interests and character, they are compelled by the original vice of their system to look with hope to so fatal a remedy. It will be remembered that Christ commanded his disciples to love one another, and prayed that they might be perfectly one; and that St. Paul exhorted Christians to be per-

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[i] Binney's Life of Morrell, p. 134, 135.

[k] Towgood on Dissent. Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 314.

fectly united, and that there should be no divisions among them.[1] "The system of congregational churches (I quote the words of a dissenter) is totally different. From them any member, or any number of members, is at liberty to withdraw whenever they think it their duty, without incurring any censure or provoking any resentment. . . . Peaceable and Christian *separation*, when separation becomes inevitable or *expedient*, is the MAXIM of the congregational system: and it has always been found to be, not only a sufficient *safety-valve* for the occasional disturbances of the churches, but a means of rendering those very disturbances conducive to the extension of Christianity."[m]

Thus we see the principle of schism and separation enshrined as a *maxim* of dissent; and accordingly we need not wonder to find Owen and Towgood, and other dissenters, ridiculing those who deliver solemn lectures on the sin of schism, and joking about schism as a mere "ecclesiastical scarecrow."[n] According to them, "separation between different Christian bodies, which agree in holding the head, but do not accord in lesser matters, is an affair of *expediency*;—within certain limits it seems really conducive to *edification*."[o] It is clear then, that the principle of division is a principle of dissent; and therefore their community cannot form any portion of the church of Christ.

It is their principle to reject all human authority in matters of religion; and they profess to separate from the church, because she imposes creeds and articles of faith: therefore if a dissenter embraces some heresy, he cannot yield to the con-

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[1] See Chapter IV.

[m] Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 167.

[n] Owen sneers at "the *old* opinion of the unlawfulness of separation from a church," as a "scarecrow to frighten men with."—Gospel Church, p. 27. Towgood also represents it as "an ecclesiastical scarecrow to keep the simple in awe."—On Dissent, p. 115. It is awful to remember *whose* injunctions are here sneered at.

[o] Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. 118.

trary judgment of his own community, or of all Christians in the world, now and in all former ages: nor can a congregational society admonish him to turn from his error on pain of expulsion, because this would be precisely that very assumption of authority in matters of religion, which dissent exclaims against in the church. There is therefore no provision for the maintenance of the Christian truth amongst them.

According to their principle, a church is a mere voluntary association. The motive for entering it, is the opinion of the individual, that it will be conducive to his edification to do so. He is equally at liberty to depart from it when he judges it expedient.[p] From the voluntary principle of their associations, they argue that, like all other clubs, societies, &c., they must possess the absolute power of regulating their own affairs, appointing their servants or ministers, directing, controlling, paying, dismissing them. An infringement on any of these privileges they regard as an invasion of their indefeasible rights. Certainly this reasoning is perfectly correct, and founded on a sort of silent estimate of the real character of dissenting communities. They are *human* societies. The will of man makes them, regulates them, unmakes them. They are, in a word, purely voluntary associations; and therefore cannot be any part of that church which is formed by the divine command, and by means instituted by God, and from which man cannot separate without most grievous sin.

SECTION III.

ON DISSENTING PRINCIPLES AS AFFECTING THE SANCTITY OF THE CHURCH.

In a preceding chapter (VI.) I have alluded to one of the most prominent and essential principles of dissent; namely, that the

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[p] Owen, p. 47.

visible church of Christ consists of saints only. As they say: "The very *basis* of our church union is regeneration and holiness, evinced by the proper evidences in those persons who are admitted into (church) membership."[q] "Religious communities of the congregational order are not only congregations, they are congregations of persons professing to be of a peculiar, that is, of a religious character . . . . this is an essential point in the congregational system, and one, apart from which it would lose all its value, and even its entire character."[r] "It is a prominent feature of congregational churches, that they aim at comprehending none but persons of *real* piety. Every member of them is to be supposed, therefore, to possess that adaptation to right judgment, of which we have been speaking. Superior to the blindness of a carnal man, and delivered from the influence of worldly passions, his opinions may reasonably be regarded as enlightened and wise."[s]

The design and intention therefore of dissenters is, to admit none but *really* regenerate and holy men into their churches; but in adopting this notion, they were obliged to devise a new method of admission into the church, different from what Jesus Christ had appointed.

Christ had commanded his apostles to "teach (or disciple) all nations, baptizing them;" and declared that "he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved;"[t] thus intimating that believers should, by baptism, be fully and perfectly made his disciples, and enter on the way of salvation in his church. The evangelist had declared that "they that gladly received the word were baptized, and the same day were *added* about three thousand souls;" subjoining, that "the Lord *added* to the *church* daily such as should be saved,"[u] thereby instructing us that the way in which men were added to the church was by baptism. The apostle had said: "As many of you as have been baptized into

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[q] Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 399.

[r] Ibid. p. 146, 147.

[s] Ibid. p. 163.

[t] Matt. xxviii. 19. Mark xvi. 16.

[u] Acts ii. 41. 47.

Christ, have *put on Christ* . . . . . ye are all one in Christ Jesus;"[v] intimating that in baptism they were engrafted into Christ's body, the church. They were thus by lawful baptism made members of the whole Christian fraternity, and consequently of that portion of it in which they abode; and though they might not interfere with the particular concerns of other portions of the church, because this would have been contrary to the law of order and peace throughout Christianity, they had a right to all the offices of fraternity and spiritual consolation from every part of the church which they might visit, and to every privilege of that portion in which they abode.

But the only conditions for baptism were repentance and faith. There was no mention of regeneration, sanctity, real piety, whether visible or invisible, as pre-requisites to its reception. Those who were baptized, came to the holy fountain as repentant sinners, not as professing saints: "Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy *sins*." The publican and the harlot, the unjust, the scorner, the persecutor, the idolater, he whose sins were as red as scarlet, were all internally qualified by repentance and faith, and externally by the profession of both, for that divine and holy mystery.

Such a system could never compose a church of professing saints only; and more especially when all new members were added to the church by baptism in their *infancy*, it would have been impossible that the church should consist only of real saints, if baptism had been recognized any longer as the mode of admission into it.

Accordingly, the dissenters found it necessary to devise a new method of their own for admitting members into their church, distinct altogether from baptism. But let us contemplate for a moment, the difficulties into which the devious path of error, led them.

They themselves could not deny in the face of Scripture that, after all, baptism did, in some way or other, introduce members

[v] Gal. iii. 27, 28.

into the church of Christ. Now, at least it must have made them members of the visible church, and this is expressly admitted by Owen, their chief writer, who speaks of "baptizing the children of church-members, giving them thereby an admission into the visible catholic church."[w] Baptism then admitted into the visible catholic church, but baptism did not admit into the dissenting churches of professing saints, therefore the latter form no part of the catholic church of Christ.[x]

Nor is this all: whoever has been once lawfully baptized, and thus made a member of Christ's body, the church, cannot by any subsequent rite or transaction whatever, be introduced into that church.[y] Such a rite must be entirely null and void: while he who seeks for a new admission to the visible church, by that very act renounces his former admission to it in baptism, denies and tramples under foot the privileges which, by the divine appointment, are connected with it; and as he cannot be introduced again into the church by the vain and impious ceremony by which men dare to supersede the effects of baptism, he falls headlong from the church of Christ.

But let us consider the operation of this principle on Christian sanctity.[z] It is the manifest aim and intention of the dissenting

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[w] Owen's Gospel Church, p. 50.

[x] [This argument seems liable to objection, as a *non sequitur*. It only proves the societies in question not to constitute *the whole* of the catholic church, inasmuch as they may, and profess to be constituted within the limits of the church, by an addition of other requisites.

It may be thus amended. The catholic church is made up of individual churches, into which men are admitted by baptism. The societies which do not admit to membership by baptism, are not such churches, therefore they are not parts of the catholic church.

On the contrary, their very constitution is an abnegation of the catholic church, by an impracticable, if not profane, attempt to give visibility to the invisible body of the elect.]

[y] [Such an attempt at *conveyal* of church-membership should be carefully distinguished from the *recognition* of church-membership on renewal of the baptismal profession, which takes place in confirmation.]

[z] [*i. e.* the ὁσιωτης of the Christian man. See note [e] on p. 138.]

community to admit none but "real saints," persons regenerate, sanctified, of a peculiar and exalted religious character. Such is their intention, and therefore they inquire by every possible means, including personal examination of the candidate's "experience," whether he be really possessed of these distinguished qualifications. Therefore no person can enter a dissenting community without hypocrisy, unless he believes and *professes* himself to be a saint! He must believe himself to be a regenerate, really pious, sanctified man, superior to the blindness of the flesh, free from the influence of earthly passion; in short, a genuine saint! Surely modesty and humility were not to be altogether strangers to Christianity, yet they are utterly banished by the dissenting principle of admission into the church; for he who proposes himself as a member of their community, knowing that none but real saints are to be admitted, knowing that the most rigid examination is to be instituted as to his regeneration, sanctity, real piety, &c., such a man, I say, must have a most perfect and singular assurance and self-satisfaction, he must "think more highly of himself than he ought to think." His feeling and his language must literally be: "God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican." The Church is more humble, and instructs each of her children to say from the bottom of his heart, "God be merciful to me a sinner."

The adoption of the principle that none but real saints were to be admitted into the church, led them of course to condemn the church of England as acting on a different principle, and admitting persons of all sorts and ages to become her members by baptism. This appeared intolerable to dissenters: they separated from a church so "Antichristian," and in the same act separated from every existing Christian community in the world, and condemned the universal church of Christ in all past ages. They were now to form a pure society of saints, a city set upon a hill, a light shining amidst the darkness of universal Christianity. This was on all accounts a perilous undertaking, and one of its peculiar dangers is well pointed out by a dissenting writer.

"By the fact of our select association," he says, "we intimate both our conviction that a change of character is necessary, and our hope that we have experienced it . . . but if, while we profess to be so materially diverse from others, that for the purpose of religious association we are constrained to separate from them, we are yet so much like them, that little or no difference is perceptible; we do mischief rather than good; we falsify the lesson which our profession is adapted to inculcate, and turn our profession itself into inconsistency and ridicule."[a] This is a true picture of the failure of the dissenting schemes of the church. That high theory of sanctity which led them to separate from the church of Christ, has been unhappily nothing but a theory. It has been proved an impossibility by experience. Dissenting communities are just like the rest of the world, troubled with immoralities, by no means elevated above the usual level in point of sanctity, and remarkable for nothing but divisions, party-spirit, and the indefatigable assertion and pursuit of their own rights and interests. "Hence," as the same writer observes, "the force of our profession itself is materially diminished, and almost annihilated."[b] Yet, strange to say, though experience has verified the Scriptural doctrine on this subject, which the church has always maintained,[c] the opposite doctrine of a perfect sanctity which excludes all sinners, remains to this day one of the main principles of dissent, and is as much insisted on as if nothing had ever happened to refute it. So difficult is it for men who are once involved in a false system, to escape from its entanglements.

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[a] Library of Eccl. Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 189.

[b] Ibid.

[c] Chapter VI.

SECTION IV.

DISSENT NOT APOSTOLICAL.

Dissenting communities cannot be derived from the apostles, for they were heard of for the first time in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries after Christ, and were not then peaceably derived from any society of apostolical foundation, nor afterwards acknowledged by any such as a portion of the church of Christ.[d] In addition to this, it is easy to see that their ministry is not apostolical. They themselves ridicule the notion of any divine commission to minister in sacred things, derived by successive ordinations from the apostles. The claim of the church to such a commission for her ministers, is matter of unceasing vituperation and scorn with dissenters. Of course, therefore, their own ministers cannot pretend to such a commission. But after all, it is pretty plain that they are obliged, whether willingly or unwillingly, to adopt this course; for their founders, or some of their first ministers, were generally laymen who usurped the power of the ministry, and pretended to ordain others to an office which they had not themselves received by any imposition of hands from the ministers of Christ. The Quakers have no ministry. The Wesleyans have or had no ordinations by imposition of hands. In fine, the Independents and others pretend that no ordination whatever is requisite, and many of them have no vocation except from mere popular election. It is, indeed, one of their principles that the ministers of religion derive their vocation and mission entirely from popular election. The right of the people to elect, pay, control, and dismiss their teachers, is argued from the nature of a voluntary association or club, which must necessarily have the power of appointing its own officers and regulating their whole conduct. And as every officer of

[d] See Chapter VI. sect. i. Chapter VIII.

a voluntary association or club, derives his commission entirely from those who create him, so the dissenting minister is commissioned to preach the Gospel not by God, but by man. He is the minister of man only, and therefore the dissenting communities being destitute of a true ministry which is essential to the church,[e] are not churches of Christ. I shall add nothing more in a case so easy and clear.[f]

OBJECTIONS.

I. The church of England cannot charge the dissenters with schism for separating from her, for they only exercised the same right which she claimed for herself in separating from the church of Rome.

Answer. I deny that the church of England ever separated herself from the communion of the Roman church:[g] the latter merely estranged herself from us under the prejudice that it was necessary for every one to be subject to the papal jurisdiction, and therefore that our suppression of that jurisdiction in England was schismatical. The dissenters, on the other hand, withdrew themselves from the communion of the church in which they had been baptized. The church of Britain had existed in communion with the universal church for fifteen hundred years before the dispute took place between her and the pontiff. The societies of dissenters could not have existed in any such communion before their separation from us, for that separation alone gave them existence. The church of Britain

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[e] Chapter VIII. sect. i.

[f] The argument against dissent has been treated by Stillingfleet in his Unreasonableness of Separation. See also Articles on Dissent in the British Magazine for May, June, July, 1832; on the Church, June, 1833; and on the Congregational Union, September, 1833; Mr. Gathercole's Letters to a Dissenting Minister; Dr. Whitaker's Letters to Mr. Eccles; Mr. Maitland on the Voluntary System.

[g] See Part. II. Chapter II.

only revived her ancient privileges and liberties which had been usurped by the Roman pontiff, or allowed by her to devolve to him; and she had for this purpose the ordinary spiritual authority instituted by Jesus Christ. The dissenters had no ancient rights, as their societies had never existed before their separation from the church of England, and they neither had nor claimed any spiritual authority, but rested their cause on the supposed rights of conscience, in opposition to authority. The church justifies her reformation without imputing such errors or crimes to the universal church, before the separation, as would prove it apostate and Antichristian. The dissenters can only justify their own existence by maintaining that the church of Christ had apostatized and entirely failed.

It is really astonishing that any one can venture to compare the reformation of the church of England to the separation of the dissenters. There cannot be a stronger contrast than is afforded by the two cases.

II. The church of England has transgressed in several respects the law of Christ, in acknowledging the king's supremacy, imposing creeds and articles of faith, establishing superstitious rites, &c. Consequently it was necessary to forsake her communion.

Answer. I have shown above[h] that separation from the church is *inexcusable*, and have answered these various objections of dissenters.[i]

III. There may be separation without schism, because Christians may be united in heart and spirit, though the offices of religion are performed in different places of worship.

Answer. Christ commanded his disciples to be perfectly united, that the world might believe that the Father had sent him (John xvii. 20. 23); therefore even schism within the church is contrary to his will: but open separation from it is a manifest disobedience to God. And when separate conven-

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[h] [Pages 75 and 79.] [i] [Page 245, &c.]

ticles are established, and rival ministers endeavour to gain proselytes from the church, declaring its worship, its government, its regulations so unscriptural or erroneous, that Christians are bound to come forth from it and be separate; what plea can be vainer than the pretence of an internal communion of affections, which is disproved by every act?

CHAPTER XIV.

ON THE NESTORIANS AND MONOPHYSITES.

These ancient sects, which were separated from the communion of our churches and from the rest of the catholic church, in the fifth century; still continue to exist in Egypt, Abyssinia, Syria, Armenia, and some other parts of the East; and it seems to be the opinion of some respectable modern writers, that they are not to be excluded from the Christian church. Fricius, Jewel, Usher, and Laud are apparently of this opinion, and Field expressly maintains it.[a] The arguments by which it is supported, are derived either from the supposition that these sects believe the fundamental articles of Christian faith, or that their difference with the church is rather verbal than real. It does not appear to me, however, that there is any reason to alter our opinion of these sects, from that which the universal church maintained for so many ages.[b]

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[a] Of the Church, book iii. chapter i.

[b] [The author has dealt over-hastily with an opinion held by such divines as Jewel, Field, and Laud. A more thorough examination of the question would possibly have raised doubts whether Nestorius and the churches now named from him, (but steadily refusing the appellation,) are to be regarded as justly condemned heretics.

1. The Nestorians, and those even among the Romish divines who have most accurately examined the question, agree that the difference between their tenets and the definitions of the Council of Ephesus, is "rather verbal than real." It might, therefore, have been tolerated, and may exist without heresy, our author being judge. (Part i. ch. ix. sect. 2. No. 7.)

2. Nestorius, to his latest breath, and the churches that have held his memory in honour ever since, have steadfastly maintained that he *did not hold* the tenets condemned by the Council of Ephesus. The churches now called Nestorian confessedly do not hold them. Therefore, there is strong reason to doubt, whether, *in the question of doctrine*, he or they

I. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, in declaiming against the old and pious term Θεοτόκος or Deipara, (ascribed to the blessed Virgin as the mother of Him who was both God and man,) dogmatized contrary to the simplicity of the Christian doctrine, affirming in effect, that the Word of God and the man Jesus were two different persons, united only by a sort of moral union, the former inhabiting the latter as a temple. From this doctrine it followed, contrary to the Christian faith, that the Word of God was not made flesh, nor born into this world, nor did he suffer for us, nor redeem us with his blood; that Christ was not God, but only the temple of God; that the Virgin was only mother of a man, and not of him who was both man and God. It is needless to go into a detail of the Nestorian errors, or to point out their inconsistency with Scripture. Their consequences were so dreadful that the holy œcumenical synod of Ephesus, in 431, most justly styled their author another Judas, and pronounced anathema against all who should divide the person of Jesus Christ. The decree of this synod on the incarnation, was soon accepted and approved by the church in all parts of the world; for though John, patriarch of Antioch, and the Oriental bishops, for a short time disputed the lawfulness of the proceedings at Ephesus, they afterwards

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have been condemned by the church universal. The investigations of modern historians are decidedly favourable to their plea.

3. If, as is probable, Nestorius was condemned on unfair statements of his doctrine, and partial selection of proofs from his writings, the decision of *the personal question* must be held to have been unjust, and as such, "invalid and unratified in heaven." (Supra. Part. I. ch. iv. sect. 2. p. 66.)

4. The preponderance of evidence ever yet discoverable, in favour of Nestorius, shows that the churches of the East had probable reasons for refusing to acquiesce in the decision of the personal question by the Council of Ephesus, even had they admitted its œcumenicity. The facts of Nestorius' case were only the *motivum arresti* of that council. It may have erred concerning the sense he put on the terms ἕνωσις and συναφεια, &c. while its statement of that which was *de fide*, the true doctrine of the church concerning the natures and person of Christ, being not disputed even by the dissentient churches, was sanctioned by *universal consent*.]

united themselves to St. Cyril of Alexandria and the rest of the church, in pronouncing anathema against Nestorianism.[c] The partizans of the condemned doctrine only found support in Persia, where they disseminated their errors and obtained a permanent settlement.[d] The chief founders of the sect there were Ibas, Barsumas, Manes, and others who had been expelled from the school of Edessa in consequence of their doctrine. The Nestorians have always continued in those parts; they disclaim the name of Nestorians, and pretend that their doctrine and churches are derived from the apostles.[e] They however reckon Nestorius, Diodorus, and Theodore of Tarsus, who taught the Nestorian tenets, among the saints; and while they pretend that there is no real difference between their doctrine and that of the church,[f] they anathematize the œcumenical synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon, because they denied that Christ was two different persons.[g]

Since therefore the Nestorian doctrine was condemned by the whole church throughout the world; since those who maintained it were ejected from the Christian society and always accounted heretics; since the Nestorians have never yet been restored to the communion of the catholic church, never forsaken their errors, never acknowledged the errors of their founders; and since they anathematize the whole church in anathematizing the synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon, it seems to me that we cannot reckon them as any part of the

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[c] [The discussion of the facts of the case of the Nestorians is out of the question, in notes to a work like this. The writer can only protest against the very partial statements in the text, and refer the reader who may desire to be fully convinced of their unfairness, to the diligent and accurate researches of "the German Tillemont," (as Mr. Dowling has called him,) C. W. F. Walch, in his History of Heresies, Vol. V. p. 289—936. So much as may serve to bear out the argument in the foregoing note, may be found even in the condensed narrative of Gieseler, Text-book of Ecc. Hist. (Cunningham's trans.) Vol. I. § 86. pp. 228—237.]

[d] Assemani Biblioth. Orientalis, tom. iv. p. 69. [e] Ibid. 76.

[f] Ibid. 220. [g] Ibid. 230.

church of Christ, even though some of them may be desirous of representing their doctrine as orthodox and consonant to that of the church.[h]

2. The doctrine attributed to Eutyches, of the conversion of the human nature into the divine, or the mixture of the two natures together in Christ, so as to form but one nature after the incarnation, was rejected by Dioscorus, and the other leaders of the Monophysite faction, who opposed themselves to the decree of the holy œcumenical synod of Chalcedon, (451,) which was received and approved by the church in all parts of the world. They and their descendants, entitled Monophysites or Jacobites, acknowledged only one nature in Christ, compounded of the divinity and humanity, yet without conversion, confusion, or mixture.[i] This doctrine, like the Nestorian, shook the main pillars of the Christian's hope; for in attributing to our blessed Saviour a sort of third nature, compounded

[h] [Since there is reason for doubt whether the "doctrine" condemned by the Council of Ephesus, and in consequence "by the whole church throughout the world" *was* held by Nestorius; and since it is certain that it *is not* now held by the churches known as Nestorian; since those who have refused to recognize the decision of the Council of Ephesus in the personal question, have not been without probable grounds for such refusal, and therefore are not to be regarded as in a state of exclusion from the church, nor as heretics; since restoration to church communion is not to be required where the excommunication is uncertain, or at least of doubtful validity; since the churches called Nestorian have constantly denied that they held the error they have been called on to forsake; since the actual errors of their founders appear to have been errors of judgment on matters of *opinion*, and not *of the faith*; since they anathematize the synods of Ephesus and Chalcedon, not as exponents of the faith, but as judges charged with illegality and injustice; since they are of apostolic origin and have maintained, for the most part, the primitive discipline; and since they profess their faith in the catholic creeds, conformably with that of the catholic church; they are not lightly to be rejected from the number of the churches of Christ, but rather to be regarded as brethren, long alienated not without some fault on both sides.]

[i] See Assemani's Dissertatio de Monophysitis, in the second volume of his Bibliotheca Orientalis, sect. V.

of the human and divine, it threatened to render his suffering for us imperfect and incapable of obtaining salvation for men; for unless Christ had been very and perfect man to suffer, and very God to confer an infinite value on those sufferings, his death would have been inadequate to the accomplishment of so great a work.

Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, who was deposed by the œcumenical synod of Chalcedon for his outrageous proceedings against the opponents of the Eutychian heresy, and who refused to believe the orthodox doctrine defined by the synod and approved by the whole Christian world, was legitimately succeeded by Proterius in the see of Alexandria; but the Monophysite, Timothy Ælurus, intruded into that see, having obtained ordination from two deposed Egyptian Bishops of the same party; and his adherents murdered Proterius. In the same manner Theodosius, a monk of Palestine, usurped the see of Juvenal, patriarch of Jerusalem, while the latter was absent at Constantinople, and ordained Monophysite bishops throughout Palestine, in opposition to the catholic bishops. Some time after, another Monophysite, Peter Fullo, came to Antioch under the protection of Zeno the governor, and excited a schism against the patriarch Martyrius, on whose retirement he seized the bishopric, but was soon compelled to fly by the orders of the emperor. Such was the origin of the Monophysites, who attempted then, and afterwards by the aid of the civil power, to usurp the various sees of the church; and who established a rival communion, anathematizing the Council of Chalcedon[k] approved by the whole Christian world, reckoning its adherents among the heretics, and including among the saints Dioscorus, Barsumus, Timothy, Severus, Jacobus, Theodosius, and others who were notoriously opposed to the catholic doctrine, and guilty of offences against the law of unity. Hence, although some of the Monophysites in latter times have

[k] Ibid. s. iv.

expressed themselves in terms that seem to render the difference in doctrine but inconsiderable,[l] there seems to be no reason to suppose that they form a portion of the catholic church, having been originally excluded from that church as well by its decree as by their own separation from us: nor have they ever ceased to treat the doctrine of the church as heretical, styling us Chalcedonians,[m] and reckoning us among the heretics to this day.[n]

It seems therefore that the Nestorians and Monophysites, or Jacobites, are no part of the church of Christ, for, as I have elsewhere observed,[o] the assumption that they hold what are called fundamental doctrines, and are therefore free from heresy, is founded on an uncertain and arbitrary distinction. We

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[l] Assemani Bibl. Orient. t. ii. p. 277. 97.

[m] See Buchanan's Christian Researches, p. 123, where the Creed of the Syrian Christians of St. Thomas in India, is stated to include a condemnation of the errors of "Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, Manes, Marcianus, Julianus, Nestorius, and *the Chalcedonians*."

[n] [The case of the Monophysites is much less clear than that of the Nestorians. Still there are reasons for hesitating to regard them as condemned heretics. The lamentable commotions which attended the process of their severance from the communion of the other Eastern churches, render it extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to decide how far justice and the established laws of church discipline were observed in the various condemnations of the Monophysite churches, and how far their attitude of opposition to the rest of the Christian body may be resolved into the maintenance of a consistent and not groundless plea against oppression. Their present state of dispersion and great ignorance make it hard to speak with assurance of their doctrine, and its pretensions to substantial catholicity.

There can be no doubt that the doctrines of Eutyches and Dioscorus, and those who obstinately hold them, are under the ban of the church; but in our uncertainty whether the Monophysite churches do hold, or have ever held those doctrines, and whether their state of external separation may not be accounted for on other grounds, it is surely the part of charity to "believe all things," and "hope all things," rather than pronounce their condemnation.]

[o] Chapter V. Appendix on Fundamentals.

need not however pronounce them heretics in such a sense as imports a grievous sin on their parts, and the loss of salvation: "Them that are without, God judgeth;" but we cannot consider them as the people of God, invested with those privileges which revelation gives to God's children, to those who are within his kingdom.[p]

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[p] [The writer, at least, would prefer to say with Field,—"These, holding the rule of faith, and believing all those things that are on the peril of eternal damnation to be particularly and expressly known and believed, and their separation not growing (for ought we know) out of Pharisaical and damnable pride—but out of error, not directly contrary to the rule of faith, or some other human infirmity or defect; and it no way appearing that their obstinacy is such, that though they knew they did amiss, they would still continue so to do; we account them in the number of the churches of God, and doubt not but that innumerable, living and dying in them, notwithstanding their sundry defects, imperfections, and wants, are, and have been saved." Of the Church, Book III. chap. v. p. 71. ed. 1606.]

A TREATISE ON THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART II.

ON THE BRITISH REFORMATION.

A TREATISE

ON

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

PART II.—CHAPTER I.

ON THE CHARACTERS OF THE TEMPORAL PROMOTERS OF THE REFORMATION.

It is my design in this Part to examine the reformation of the church in Great Britain and Ireland, to trace its conformity with the faith and discipline of the catholic church, and to reply to the various imputations of heresy, schism, variation, and inconsistency, advanced by Bossuet in his "Variations," and by other opponents of the church of England.

The real facts of the reformation in England have been so misrepresented from ignorance or design, that there is no part of our controversies which merits from members of the catholic churches of these nations a more attentive study. It is perpetually and confidently asserted by our opponents, that the various corrections in ecclesiastical matters, made in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, were effected, and can only be defended on principles subversive of ecclesiastical authority and unity; therefore, that we cannot maintain the authority of the church of England as a part of the church of Christ, and the necessity of adhering to her communion, without at the same moment condemning the reformation (or foundation as they call it) of the church of England. The use made of this principle by the Romanist is, to argue that a church

which by her fundamenfal principle is deprived of all spiritual authority, and which merely relies on the civil power for protection against anarchy, cannot be a true church of Christ. On the other side, the dissenter justifies his separation and resistance to ecclesiastical authority, by ascribing similar conduct to the church from which he separates; and the latitudinarian or the heretic refuses to admit the authority and judgment of the universal church, when adduced by us against him, because he alleges that the Reformation itself was based in their rejection. We need not wonder then that a view of the Reformation so useful to all the enemies of the church of England, is assiduously and confidently maintained by them.

If indeed, as is alleged, the church of England was founded at the Reformation by separation from the catholic church, if its faith was then invented or changed by Henry VIII., or by any other sovereign on any motives whatever, good or evil; if the Reformation was the introduction of a new Gospel, the revelation of a doctrine hitherto unknown to the catholic church, or condemned by it; and if the church of England was responsible for all the views, motives, acts, of Henry, Edward, Elizabeth, and their courtiers; in this case we need not pretend to form any part of the church: our adversaries might triumph. But we altogether deny these positions. The church of England was not founded at the reformation, nor separated from the catholic church, nor was its faith changed by Henry VIII., &c.; nor was the doctrine of the Reformation a new and unknown gospel; nor is it possible, on any principle of reason or justice, to identify the church of England with all the sins, errors, and vices of those temporal rulers who supported its reformation. This then, in general, is what I proceed to show, considering successively the character and conduct of secular rulers as affecting the Reformation of the church of England; the abolition of the papal jurisdiction and the schism; the royal supremacy and proceedings during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth; the principles of the Reformation in England; the variations of the church in religion;

the character of archbishop Cranmer; and the reformations and schisms in Ireland and Scotland.

I shall first consider the character of the temporal rulers as affecting the reformation of the church of England. That men of unsanctified characters have frequently been made instrumental in performing works beneficial to the church, must be admitted by Romanists themselves. The character of Constantine the Great was stained by serious offences, yet he established Christianity in the Roman empire. Clovis, the first Christian king of the Franks; Phocas, who conferred on the Roman patriarch the title of œcumenical bishop; the empress Irene, who established the worship of images; many of the Roman pontiffs themselves; and even some of those who were most zealous to extend their jurisdiction, were all guilty of great and terrible crimes. The emperor Napoleon restored Christianity in France, yet it will not be pretended that his character was one of much sanctity.

There is no impossibility that God should cause evil men to benefit the church, for in the occasional employment of such instruments, he only glorifies his own supreme power and wisdom, which can induce good from the very evils he permits; and it may be designed to lead his people rather to contemplate the truth itself, than the personal characters of its promoters, which if it were regarded as the invariable test of truth, would even open the way for heresy, because it has been remarked that the founders of heresies are usually men of great external sanctity. Bossuet himself admits that God has made use of very evil princes to accomplish great works.[a] The evil character then of Henry VIII., of Somerset, or of any other temporal or spiritual promoters of reformation in the church, affords (even if it were not exaggerated) no proof that the Reformation was in itself wrong. The objection only applies in a case supposed by Bossuet: when "God desires to reveal to men

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[a] Bossuet, Variations des Eglises Protestantes, liv. vii. 49.

some truth, important, and unknown for many ages, or entirely unheard of:"[b] in such a case he deems it impossible that God should have employed such agents as Henry VIII. or Cranmer. We will go further than this. If such a truth as had been entirely unheard of before, or condemned in all past ages by the catholic church, had then been propounded by "an angel from heaven," he would have been "anathema."[c] But we deny that any new important truth unknown for ages to the catholic church, or never heard of before, was promulgated at this time in the church of England. We by no means admit that the royal supremacy then acknowledged by the church of England was novel. We suppose that some superstitious *opinions*, commonly received by abuse in some churches, *e. g.* the papal infallibility and universal jurisdiction, purgatory, transubstantiation, were suppressed; some doctrines were defined more accurately, which had been vaguely and imperfectly held; the Scriptures were more freely circulated, several superfluous and abused rites were removed, and others were corrected. There was nothing in all this which required any extraordinary mission, or superlative sanctity.

It may be objected that this affords an inadequate view of the important changes made by the Reformation, and that if the difference between the faith of the church of England before and after it, was not profound and total, it could never have been worth while to suffer martyrdom for the truths of the Reformation, or to separate from the existing church. But I reply that this proceeds on a totally erroneous view of facts. Those who suffered under Queen Mary, suffered because they would not profess their belief in certain mistaken opinions which their opponents erroneously asserted to be matters of faith; and therefore the fact of their suffering, does not prove that there was in reality a total contradiction in matters of faith between them and their persecutors. The Lutherans always,

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[b] Ibid. [c] Galat. i. 8, 9.

as we know, asserted that they did not differ in any article of faith from the catholic, or even the Roman church, but only as to certain abuses and erroneous opinions.[d] I also contend that the friends of the reformation in England *did not separate from the church* in point of fact. These are truths which I shall prove hereafter.

Admitting then that Henry, Somerset, &c., were justly accused of crimes, the reformation which they promoted may, in *itself*, have been a just and necessary work; and it would have been irrational and wrong in the church of England to have refused all consideration of subjects proposed to her examination or approbation by the royal authority, and to refuse her sanction to reforms in themselves laudable, merely because the character of the king or his ministers was unsaintly, and his or their private motives suspected to be wrong. Such conduct on the part of the church would have been needlessly offensive to temporal rulers, while it would (in the supposed case) have been actually injurious to the cause of religion, and an uncharitable judgment of private motives. It must be remembered, that although Henry and the protector Somerset may have been secretly influenced by avarice, revenge, or other evil passions, they never made them public. They avowed as their reasons for supporting reformation, the desire of removing usurpations, establishing the ancient rights of the church and the crown, correcting various abuses prejudicial to true religion; and therefore the church could not refuse to take into consideration the specific objects of Reformation proposed by them to her examination or sanction.

Nor does the justification of the church of England in any degree depend on the question of the lawfulness of Henry's marriage with Catharine of Arragon, or with Anna Boleyn; such matters, as Bossuet observes, "are often regulated by mere probabilities,"[e] and there were at least abundant proba-

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[d] Confess. August. pars i. sect. 22; pars ii. Prologus; and Epilogus.

[e] Variations, liv. vii. 50.

bilities that the marriage with Catharine was null *ab initio*;[f] but this whole question only affects the character of Henry VIII. and of those immediately engaged in it; it does not affect the Reformation of the church of England.

We have an equal right to set aside the question of the suppression of monasteries. That suppression may perhaps show that the temporal promoters of the Reformation had temporal motives. We do not deny it, all we insist upon is, that the church of England is not to be made responsible for those motives. She never was invited to approve their avarice or other evil passions. She herself suffered from that avarice, just as the French, the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese churches have suffered under the extortions or confiscations of their temporal rulers. It must be confessed, however, that in England, as well as in other countries, the clergy viewed without any extreme regret the extinction of the various orders of monks and friars, who (though in some things commendable) had degenerated from the purity of the ancient rule, interfered with the unity and discipline of the church, and sustained the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman pontiffs, subversive of the liberties of churches.

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f It is not denied by any one, that the marriage with Catharine was within the limits prohibited by the book of Leviticus; and though God himself enjoined such a marriage in case of a brother's death without issue, we must remember that his *express command* is sufficient to authorize proceedings which would be otherwise contrary to his law; *e. g.* the destruction of the Canaanites. The bishops and convocations of England, the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Orleans, Angiers, Bourges, Tholouse, Bologna, Padua, &c., and a multitude of theologians, judged that any human dispensation in this case was null.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ABOLITION OF THE PAPAL JURISDICTION, AND THE SCHISM.

The objections advanced against the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in England are, that it was effected by Henry VIII. in revenge for the refusal of the Roman pontiff to sanction his marriage with Anna Boleyn; that it was carried by false arguments; that the papal jurisdiction having existed since the foundation of Christianity in England, it was schismatical to remove it; and that the church of England then separated herself from the catholic church, and from Christian unity.

I. Now, as I have already observed, the private motives of King Henry were not matters on which the church of England could judge. His public professions were unexceptionable. According to them he was influenced by a desire of reforming abuses, reviving usurped rights, and relieving the church and state from foreign oppressions and exactions. The church of England was then bound to examine the question of the abolition of the papal jurisdiction on its own merits; and if she was convinced that abolition was right and advisable, she was justified in acquiescing in the various laws of the civil powers, made for that purpose. Let us examine those laws.

The various acts of parliament made in England, against certain parts of the papal power, all relate to those peculiar branches of ordinary jurisdiction, which had been acquired in process of time over the church of England, and which in no degree concerned the precedence of the Roman see in the catholic church. The learned primate Bramhall has observed, that these acts were not intended to deprive the Roman pontiff of any really spiritual power;[a] they only cast out some

[a] Bramhall, Works, p. 340.

branches of his exterior jurisdiction which were not instituted by Christ, nor by the catholic church.[b] They did not deny the precedency of the bishop of Rome in the universal church, nor his right (in conjunction with Christian princes) of summoning and presiding in general councils, nor his power of defining questions of faith in conjunction with the catholic church, nor his right to exhort all bishops to observe the canons, nor his being the centre of catholic unity when he is in communion with all the catholic church. None of these things (the chief privileges of the Roman primacy according to Romanists) were affected by the acts of parliament for abolishing the usurped jurisdiction of the Roman bishop in England; and therefore it is vain to impute schism or heresy to the church of England on this account, even on the supposition that the primacy of the Roman see is of divine institution.

The several acts of parliament alluded to, are concerning Annates, Bulls, Appeals, and Dispensations.

Annates.—In 1532 it was enacted, that annates, or first-fruits, and all other pecuniary payments for bulls, pensions, and annuities, to the Roman see, should entirely cease;[c] and this act having been in vain suspended from execution, in order that the pope might redress those exactions, it was confirmed by another act in 1533, which ordered that no person from henceforward should pay any money for annates, first-fruits, or otherwise for any bulls, briefs or palls. It was also enacted, that no one should pay any pensions, censes, portions, Peter's-pence, or other impositions, to the use of the bishop of Rome.[d]

No one can pretend that there was any schism or heresy in the suppression of these pecuniary payments or taxes, which being of an entirely temporal nature, could never have been lawfully levied without the consent of the civil magistrate. They were generally, too, of comparatively recent imposition. Thomassin, presbyter of the Oratory, proves that annates began to

[b] Bramhall, Works, p. 382.

[c] Act 23 Hen. VIII. for the repression of Annates, &c.

[d] Act 25 Henry VIII. c. 20.

be exacted by Boniface IX., about 1392,[e] and they were enforced by a refusal of the bulls of nomination to benefices or sees. They had been suppressed by the edict of Charles VI., king of France, in 1406, 1417, and 1418.[f] They had been again suppressed by Louis XI. in 1463 and 1464;[g] and what is more, they had been already prohibited in England, by act of parliament, in the reign of Henry IV.[h] Even now in Austria, annates are not allowed to be paid, except in the case of newly-created bishops.[i] Pensions began to be fixed on benefices, by the popes for their cardinals, or for the Roman court, about the same time that annates arose;[k] and Peter's-pence were alms which the kings of England had very long been accustomed to pay to the see of Rome,[l] but which there could be no religious obligation on them to continue. Therefore in all this enactment there was nothing to which the church of England could rightly object.

BULLS.—In 1532 it was enacted, as above, that no one should pay any money for bulls, or papal letters of institution to bishoprics; and that if those bulls were refused, the bishop elect should be consecrated in England without them; and the law which confirmed this in 1533, enacted that no one in future should be presented to the pope for any see, nor send or procure any bulls, briefs, or palls there.[m]

The necessity of papal bulls, even for archbishoprics, was only founded on the laws of the Roman pontiffs, collected by

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[e] Thomassinus, Vetus et Nova Ecclesiæ Disciplina, t. iii. p. 447.

[f] Thomassin. ibid. p. 449. [g] Ibid. 453.

[h] Bramhall, Works, p. 336.

[i] Rechberger, Enchiridon Jur. Eccl. Austriaci. See Report of Select Committee on Regulation of Roman Catholics, A.D. 1816.

[k] Thomassin. iii. p. 355, 356.

[l] Ibid. p. 109. In the time of Edward III. Peter's-pence were not allowed to be collected in England.—Soames' Hist. Refor. i. p. 431.

[m] Act 23 Hen. VIII. for repression of annates, and 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. for the non-payment of first-fruits to the bishop of Rome.

Gregory IX. in the Decretals ;[n] for it is well known, that for many centuries the metropolitans were confirmed and ordained by the provincial synods of bishops ;[o] but these laws derived their authority in England entirely from the consent or permission of the catholic church here.[p] The English bishops, as Thomassin proves, were, so late as 1373, confirmed and ordained by their metropolitans, and not by papal bulls.[q] The custom of obtaining bulls for newly-elected bishops, arose entirely from the papal reservations or usurpations of the patronage of all bishoprics, during the great Western schism ;[r] and they were continued afterwards by concordates between sovereigns and the Roman see, who divided the spoils of the church. That they may be dispensed with by the authority of particular churches, we may conclude from the synod of Ems in Germany, A.D. 1785, which declared, that if the pope refused to confirm the bishops, they would find resources in the ancient discipline.[s] The commission of cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, instituted by the Emperor Napoleon, 1811, acknowledged that a National Council of France could order that bishops should be instituted by the metropolitan or senior bishop instead of the pope, in case of urgent circumstances ;[t] and when the Roman bishop had for a long time refused to institute bishops in Portugal, the Portu-

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[n] Thomassin. tom. iii. p. 430.

[o] De Marca, De Concord. Sacerd. et Imperii, lib. iv. c. 4. Thomassin. tom. ii. p. 426, &c.

[p] The canon law was only partially received in England.—Bramhall, Works, p. 72, 328. Even the laws of general synods in matters of discipline, are not obligatory in particular churches until they are received there; *e. g.* the discipline of the Council of Trent has never been universally received. It was one of the liberties of the Gallican church, that the pontiff could not derogate from the laws or customs of provinces, or the lawful privileges of particular churches.—Bailly, Tract. de Eccl. Christi. tom. ii. p. 209.

[q] Thomassin. tom. ii. p. 430.

[r] Thomassin. iii. p. 393.

[s] Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p. 60—65.

[t] Ibid. 523—530.

guese applied to the Gallican church to intercede with the pontiff on their behalf, and in case of failure to consecrate their bishops. And accordingly the Gallican bishops intimated to the Roman bishop, that in case of his continued refusal, they would supply his defect, and consecrate the Portuguese bishops.[u] Therefore it is plain that bulls from the Roman see may be dispensed with by particular churches, when there is a sufficient reason, *e. g.* the desire and injunction of the supreme temporal power, and the long continuance of abuses and exactions connected with them.

The necessity of obtaining a pall from Rome for the exercise of metropolitan jurisdiction, was founded on the spurious decretals, to which Gregory VII., and the succeeding bishops of Rome appealed, in justification of their claims on this point.[v] Innocent III. interdicted all metropolitans from exercising any functions till they had received the pall;[w] but this regulation could not have been obligatory on the church of England at any time, except by her own consent and permission, and therefore she was perfectly at liberty to withdraw that permission whenever she judged it expedient so to do. For the pall itself was merely an external ensign of honour, which the archbishop of Canterbury had originally received as a compliment from the Roman see, and which was understood to give those who possessed it a portion of the authority of that apostolical see.[x] But it was so many ages before the use of the pall became common among metropolitans,[y] that it is plain there could be no absolute necessity for obtaining it.

Appeals.—In 1532 it was enacted that all causes concerning wills, matrimony, and divorce, the rights of tithes, oblations,

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[u] Bramhall's Works, p. 111.

[v] Thomassinus, tom. i. p. 379.

[w] Ibid.

[x] Ibid. p. 369.

[y] Palls were first given to the metropolitans of France in the time of Boniface (the eighth century).—Thomassin. tom. i. p. 370. They were only gradually given to other metropolitans afterwards, and the popes declared that they were essential to the exercise of the metropolitan jurisdiction.

and obventions, should be determined within the realm of England by the proper ecclesiastical tribunals;[z] and in 1533 it was enacted that no manner of appeals shall be made to the bishop of Rome, but that all causes shall be terminated in England.[a] According to Fleury, Du Pin, and Van Espen, the custom of direct and indiscriminate appeals to Rome was introduced by the false decretals.[b] Various Roman theologians hold that all appeals to Rome, even in the causes of bishops, are of human institution.[c] Du Pin shows that many churches terminated their ecclesiastical causes themselves.[d] The African church prohibited expressly all appeals to Rome,[e] and the English had just as much power. Even in the last century (1788) Leopold, grand-duke of Tuscany, abolished all appeals to Rome, and determined the tribunals in which all ecclesiastical causes should be decided,[f] and the king of Naples also prohibited appeals.[g] Even in Austria, France, Spain, and other countries, no appeal is allowed to the Roman pontiff, except for the purpose of procuring a *re-hearing* of the cause in those countries,[h] which is very different from sending causes to be tried before Roman tribunals. The Roman bishop was given this privilege of desiring a *re-hearing* by the synod of Sardica, A.D. 341, but the decree of this synod was not for many ages, and never generally received in the church,[i] and was only ob-

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[z] Act 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12. [a] Act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

[b] Fleury, Discours IV. sur l'hist. Eccl. et Institution au Droit Eccl. tom. ii. c. 23. p. 206; Du Pin de Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. p. 132, &c.; Van Espen, Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum, pars iii. tit. x. c. i.

[c] De la Hogue, Tractatus de Ecclesia, p. 382; Bouvier de Vera Ecclesia, p. 323. The fabrication of false decretals to sustain this pretension, is developed by M. de Hontheim in his Febronius, chapter iv. sect. viii.

[d] Du Pin de Antiq. Eccl. Disciplina, p. 130, 131.

[e] Fleury, Inst. au Droit Eccl. tom. ii. p. 206; Van Espen, Tractatus Historico-canonicus in canones, &c. tom. v. oper. 62, &c.; Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. tom. ii. p. 47.

[f] Mém. Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p. 107. [g] Ibid. p. 120, 121.

[h] Fleury, Discours XII. sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gall.

[i] Du Pin de Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina, p. 113. The Second Disser-

ligatory on the church of England by her own choice and consent, which she might withdraw at any time on a sufficient reason being assigned.

Dispensations.—It was enacted in 1533 that no one shall hereafter sue to the bishop of Rome for licenses, dispensations, compositions (for annates), faculties, grants, rescripts (all relating to the institution to benefices), delegacies (in ecclesiastical causes), or any other instruments or writings.[k] I have already spoken of all the points here mentioned, except dispensations and licenses. According to Thomassin, they were originally granted by all bishops,[l] but gradually in the tenth and following centuries, they were allowed to devolve to, or were usurped by the Roman pontiffs.[m] The facility with which they were granted for money excited just complaints, and enervated the discipline of the church. The evils arising from this afforded a sufficient reason for the limitation of the power of dispensation in future to English prelates,[n] who would naturally feel more deeply interested in the preservation of discipline amongst us than the Roman court, which viewed this power chiefly as a means of supplying its pecuniary necessities. In fact, papal dispensations have been abolished in several other countries. All papal dispensations for marriage were abolished by the emperor Joseph II. in his dominions;[o] the synod of Ems, in 1785, declared that all bishops should dispense even in cases reserved to the pope;[p] and in Austria all papal absolutions in

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tation of Du Pin, p. 93—116, &c. treats of the whole subject of appeals to the Roman see most excellently well.

[k] Act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. concerning Peter-pence and dispensations.

[l] Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. tom. ii. p. 606.

[m] Ibid. 607—610.

[n] The power of granting dispensations is reserved to the Primate of England.

[o] Mém. Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p. 20, 21.

[p] See the account of this synod in Mém. Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p.

reserved cases are disallowed, and all licenses granted by the pope to bishops are held null by the Austrian laws.[q]

In the suppression of these various branches of ordinary jurisdiction there was nothing which the church of England was in any degree bound to oppose; her own rights were not infringed by these acts of parliament, they were, on the contrary, rather restored and confirmed; and no privilege which belonged to the Roman see, either by primitive custom or by the grant of œcumenical synods, was interfered with. Therefore the church of England offered no opposition to these legal enactments. The bishops and other prelates in parliament acquiesced in them; and in fine, when the question was proposed to the bishops and clergy of England in the provincial synods of Canterbury and York, "Whether the bishop of Rome has, in the word of God, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop," they determined that he had not.[r] The universities concurred in this judgment.[s] The various chapters, and the convents of regulars, mendicants, &c. throughout the kingdom, also declared their assent,[t] and only one bishop (Fisher, of Rochester) refused to unite in this general decision of the church of England. Thus the ordinary jurisdiction of the Roman pontiffs, which had been either conferred by ourselves, or usurped by them, was regularly and validly suppressed.

II. Bossuet attempts to prove that they argued on false principles in suppressing the papal jurisdiction in England. It was argued from Gregory the Great's rejection of the title of universal bishop, that at the time when our ancestors received the

60—65; and all its acts in the Report of Committee on Roman catholics (1816), p. 146, &c.

[q] Rechberger, Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austriaci, 1809.

[r] Burnet, Hist. Reform. vol. iii. p. 158, 159 (Oxford ed. 1816). Records, no. 26.

[s] Ibid. p. 159, Rec. n. 27.

[t] See Rymer. Fœdera, tom. xiv. p. 487—527, where the documents are preserved. Burnet, vol. iii. Rec. n. 28.

faith, the authority of the Roman see was in a laudable moderation, which Bossuet endeavours to refute by adducing passages from Gregory's writings, claiming an extensive jurisdiction.[u] Now, without discussing the argument in question, we may safely allow that this and several other arguments then employed may not be convincing, because they are only a few out of a multitude of arguments derived from Scripture, the doctrine and practice of the catholic church in all ages, the decrees of general councils, and the history of particular churches,[v] which altogether form a body of evidence amply sufficient to justify the decision of the church. To accuse us of deciding on wrong principles, because some one or two unsound arguments may have found their way amidst a number of good ones, is surely most unreasonable and unjust.

III. It is further argued, that the papal jurisdiction had existed in England ever since Christianity had been introduced by its means, and that it was an act of ingratitude for this benefit, and even of a schismatical character, to disturb so ancient a privilege. But as it has been already observed, the various branches of jurisdiction now suppressed, had all arisen many ages after the foundation of the church of England, by the permission of our churches, and of our Christian kings, or by mere usurpation. There could be no obligation on us to continue these privileges to the Roman see any longer than we judged it expedient. Besides this, whatever acts of authority had been performed by Gregory the Great, and his immediate successors, in relation to the churches founded by St. Augustine, were to be considered as extraordinary acts, justified by the necessities of those churches, and by the power inherent in every catholic bishop in all cases of absolute necessity; but not as flowing from any ordinary authority or jurisdiction over the Christian churches of Britain.[w] And in fine, we were not exclusively or originally

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[u] Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. s. 62.

[v] Burnet, vol. i. p. 251—261.

[w] The principle of the canon law itself was: Quod pro necessitate tem-

indebted to Rome for our Christianity, the church having existed here several centuries before the arrival of St. Augustine, and the Anglo-Saxons even having been converted for the most part by holy bishops and missionaries from Ireland.

IV. It is attempted to prove the church of England schismatical by alleging that the abolition of the Roman jurisdiction in England was, *ipso facto*, a separation from the centre of catholic unity constituted by Jesus Christ. But even admitting (what we deny) that the Roman see is the centre of unity by Divine appointment, the abolition of its usurped jurisdiction in England by no means indicated a desire on our part to separate from its communion. Churches may surely hold fraternal communion without pretending to exercise jurisdiction over each other. The church of England most certainly did not design to separate from the communion of any church of Christ. We defy our adversaries to adduce a single valid proof of such an intention. She held that the Roman see had no right to complain of the suppression of its jurisdiction in England;[x] and if the bishops of that church, and their adherents and subjects throughout Europe, viewed us as schismatic and excommunicated, under an exaggerated and erroneous opinion that it was necessary for every church to be obedient to the successor of Peter at Rome; this was to be lamented, but it could not render the catholic church of these realms schismatical.

V. It may be alleged that the removal of the bishop of Rome's name from the ritual offices of the church, was an act of schism, implying separation from the rest of the church. But I answer that this removal was not for the purpose of insulting the Roman bishop, or rejecting his communion; but it followed as a necessary consequence from the suppression of

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poris statutum est, cessante necessitate debet cessare pariter. 1 qu. 1. quod de necessitate. According to the same canon law, long custom does not create a privilege. Dist. c. contra morem; 64 di. quia; 9 qu. 3 conquestus.

x See the letter of bishop Tunstall, which will be presently cited.

his jurisdiction; for had especial prayer been continued for him exclusive of the other bishops of the catholic church, and under the designation of "pope," which had for some time been connected with the notion of his supreme jurisdiction over all Christians; it could not have failed to be construed into a tacit admission of that authority which had been removed; and would have tended to foster in the minds of the ignorant, a notion so subversive of the character and due authority of the church of England.

VI. But further, I deny absolutely that the church of England did, either in fact or in intention, separate herself from the communion of the rest of the catholic church. She excommunicated no other Western churches, none of their clergy or people were ever refused Christian intercourse or communion by her. She did not fail to recognize them as churches of Christ, and to acknowledge that it was the duty of Christians to remain united to them. Even Henry VIII. never dreamed of separating from the church. These are facts which shall be proved forthwith.

We find in the "Institution of a Christian Man," approved by twenty-one archbishops and bishops in 1537, (several years after the abolition of the papal jurisdiction,) the following passage. "Therefore I do believe that the church of Rome is not, nor cannot worthily be called the catholic church, but only *a particular member thereof*, and cannot challenge or vindicate of right, and by the word of God, to be head of this universal church, or to have any authority over *the other Churches of Christ* which be in England, France, Spain, or in any other realm. . . : And I believe also that the said church of Rome, with all the other particular churches in the world, compacted and united together, do make and constitute but *one catholic or church body*."[y] This bears the signatures, among others, of

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[y] "The Institution of a Christian Man," p. 55. Formularies of Faith, Oxford, 1825.

Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton, Bradford, May, and Cox, who were all warm supporters of a reformation in the church.

The "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition,"[z] approved by the bishops of England, 1543, acknowledges the particular churches of England, Spain, Italy, Poland, Portugal, and *Rome*, to be parts of the catholic church, "notwithstanding that among them is great distance of place, diversity of traditions, not in all things unity of opinions, alteration in rites, ceremonies, and ordinances, or estimation of the same, as one church peradventure doth esteem their rites, traditions, laws, ordinances, and ceremonies to be of more force and efficacy than another church doth esteem the same." It is added that these particular churches are "members of the whole catholic church, and each of them by himself is also worthily called a catholic church, when they merely profess and teach the faith and religion of Christ, according to Scripture and the apostolic doctrine. And so every Christian man ought to honour, give credence, and follow the particular church of that region so ordered (as afore) wherein he is born or inhabiteth."[a] It is incredible, nay impossible, that a church which acknowledged all those other Western churches as parts of the one catholic church, and held the faithful in every country bound to obey and follow them, should design or practice any separation from their communion. It is obvious that the sole intention was, to suppress the novel or usurped *jurisdiction* of the Roman bishop, not to separate from his *communion* or from that of the other Western churches.

That Henry VIII. did not design to separate from the catholic church, appears by his protest against the council called to assemble at Mantua, A.D. 1536, in which he declared that he most heartily desired a true general council, and that he would preserve all the articles of the faith in his kingdom.[b] And it is further confirmed by the learned and excellent letter written by

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[z] Ibid. p. 247. [a] Ibid. p. 248.

[b] Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 400. See Collier, vol. ii. Rec. 38.

Tunstall, bishop of Durham, by the king's desire, to cardinal Pole, dated 13th July, 1536, where he speaks thus :

"In all your book, your purpose is to bring the king's grace by *penance home unto the church again*, as a man clearly *separate* from the same already. And his recess from the church ye prove not otherwise than by the fame and common opinion of those parts, who be far from the knowledge of the truth of our affairs here," &c. . . . "Ye presuppose for a ground the king's grace to be *swerved* from the *unity* of Christ's church, and that in taking upon him the title of supreme head of the church of England, he intendeth to *separate his church of England from the unity of the whole body of Christendom ;* taking upon him the office belonging unto spiritual men, grounded in the Scripture of immediate cure of souls, and attribute to himself that belongeth to priesthood, as to preach and teach the word of God, and to minister the sacraments ; and that he doth not know what belongeth to a Christian king's office, and what unto priesthood ; wherein surely both you and all others so thinking of him do err too far," &c. . . . "His full purpose and intent is, to see the laws of Almighty God purely and sincerely preached and taught, and Christ's faith without blot kept and observed in his realm ; and *not to separate himself or his realm any wise from the unity of Christ's catholic church, but inviolably, at all times, to keep and observe the same ;* and to redeem his church of England out of all captivity of foreign powers heretofore *usurped* therein, into the Christian state that all churches of all realms were in the *beginning*, and to abolish and clearly put away such *usurpations* as heretofore in this realm the bishops of Rome have, by many undue means, increased to their great advantage," &c. . . . "Wherefore since the king's grace goeth about to reform his realm and reduce the church of England into that state that both this realm and all others were in at the beginning of the faith, and many hundred years after ; *if any prince or realm will not follow him, let them do as they list ;* he doth nothing but stablisheth such laws as were in the beginning, and such as the bishop of Rome pro-

fesseth to observe. *Wherefore neither the bishop of Rome himself nor other prince ought of reason to be miscontent herewith.*"[c]

This proves sufficiently that neither the church of England, nor king Henry VIII., had any notion of separating themselves from the communion of the rest of Christendom when they removed the papal jurisdiction, which they justly held to be in most respects an usurpation and innovation, and altogether unsupported by Scripture or universal tradition. They did not uncharitably declaim against other churches which were unable or unwilling to remove the Roman jurisdiction, or correct abuses;[d] but they held themselves justified in resuming the exercise of those rights and liberties which they had in the beginning, and which the canons of general councils supported. Nothing could be more reasonable, or more consistent with the unity and due authority of the catholic church; but it was considered by the Roman see, and its adherents, an act of schism—a revolt—because they were imbued with the modern opinion, that it was necessary to salvation to be obedient to the bishop of Rome. Their error, however, was not the judgment of the catholic church; and, however we may lament it, and make some allowance for their mistake, we were in no degree bound to submit to it.

Neither does it appear, by any evidence, that the church of England, afterwards, during the Reformation, separated herself from the other Western Churches, or refused to acknowledge them as parts of the catholic church. The separation was on their side, not on ours, as we shall see.

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[c] Burnet, vol. iii. Records, 52. p. 160—163.

[d] Even the act of parliament 1 Edw. VI. c. 1. establishing the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds, on the ground of Christ's institution and primitive practice, adds the following words: "Not *condemning* hereby the usage of any church out of the king's majesty's dominions;" so careful even were the parliaments not to violate the unity of the church. It should be added, that this act is attributed to the pen of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.—Le Bas' Cranmer, i. 293.

VII. It may be objected that this church was schismatical, in refusing to send bishops to attend the general council of Trent, where the other churches of Europe were assembled by representation. In reply, I ask whether the Gallican church was schismatical in refusing, till the year 1562, to send bishops to Trent ?[e] Was the German church schismatic from 1545 to 1563, in not receiving during that time the decrees of the synod, or acknowledging it as œcumenical ?[f] Were the Gallican, and German, and English churches schismatical, in sending no bishops to the council of Florence ?[g]

I maintain that national churches are not under any absolute obligation to send representatives to general synods summoned by the papal authority, as the invariable practice of the Western churches sufficiently proves ; and certainly not if the temporal prince withholds his permission. It was at this time unlawful to depart from the kingdom without royal license ; and the temporal rulers, offended justly by the decree of excommunication and *deposal* passed by the Roman pontiffs against Henry VIII.[h] and threatened against Elizabeth,[i] could not reasonably be expected to give any permission to obey the papal summons. Besides this, it was evident that the council consisted chiefly of creatures of the Roman pontiff, and that

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[e] Henry II. king of France, in 1553, informed the bishops assembled at Trent, that no French prelate should be permitted to assist there ; and his ambassador formally protested in his name against its authority.—Fleury, liv. 146, sect. 120, 121. See Bramhall's Works, p. 110.

[f] In 1547, the decrees of the synod of Trent were not yet received by the German nation.—Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 144, sect. 87. The Interim, published in 1548, by Charles V. is another proof to the same effect.—Ibid. liv. 145, sect. 18, &c. The legates, at the opening of the synod of Trent, 1562, were afraid to declare it a *continuation* of the former synod there, lest it should offend the Germans and French.—Fleury, liv. 157, sect. 105.

[g] Fleury, liv. 107, sect. 54. These churches acknowledged the rival synod of Basle.—Fleury, l. 107, sect. 71 ; 108, sect. 50.

[h] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 446—9.

[i] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 673.

its œcumenicity and authority was doubted or rejected in France, Germany, Sweden, and other parts of Europe.

However, had this council really appeared ultimately to be truly œcumenical and catholic, in any of its sessions, and to have proceeded legitimately and synodically, the church of England still had the power of *accepting its decrees;* therefore there is no evidence of schism in our not attending that synod. And if the church of England, not acknowledging any of the sessions before 1562, and having no confidence in the proceedings there, made reformations in doctrine and discipline independently, the same had been recently done in the diet of Augsburg,[k] and by the provincial synods of Augsburg and Mayence[l] in Germany, and in France. The Colloquy of Poissy was convened by the queen in 1561, with the intention of "providing in particular for the kingdom of France, without the authority of the holy see and the council;"[m] and, accordingly, the prelates of France there assembled, *made regulations concerning discipline, and published a confession of faith.*[n]

VIII. It is objected by Bossuet, that the principle on which the whole Reformation of the church of England was conducted, is schismatical; viz. that every national church was a complete body in itself, and might with the authority and concurrence of its head and king, examine and reform errors and corruptions in doctrine and worship. This, it is said, is a

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[k] The Interim, a formulary of doctrine as well as discipline, was decreed by Emperor Charles V. and the diet of Augsburg, 1548.—Fleury, liv. 145, sect. 20.

[l] The provincial synod of Augsburg, under Cardinal Otho, received the Interim, A.D. 1548.—Fleury, l. 145, sect. 37, &c. The synod of Mayence, in the same year, under the Archbishop of Mayence, made forty-seven articles or decrees concerning doctrine, and fifty-seven concerning reform of discipline.—Ibid. sect. 89, &c.

[m] Bossuet, Variations, liv. ix. sect. 90.

[n] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. l. 157, sect. 35, 36. Many of the prelates assembled at Poissy were of opinion, that communion in both kinds might be restored by a royal edict.—Ibid. 37.

schismatical principle, because it constitutes a principle of unity under a temporal head, which the Gospel has not established; and a national church, in regulating its doctrines privately, and apart, and without considering the doctrine of the rest of the church, separates itself from the universal church, and renounces the unity of faith and doctrine.[o]

In reply, I observe, first, that this principle introduces no new species of unity in connecting the reformation of doctrine and discipline with the sanction of the temporal ruler, because this sanction was necessary to give them *temporal and legal* force.[p] In no other respect did the church of England ever deem their sanction necessary.

Secondly, I observe that it is admitted by our opponents, that provincial and national synods have, by immemorial practice of the catholic church, the right of condemning heresies and errors,[q] and of correcting abuses of all kinds in particular churches. Paul of Samosata, Photinus, Sabellius, Arius, Eustathius, Apollinaris, the Donatists, Pelagians, &c. were all condemned in particular councils, in the first instance. The particular councils of Arles, Orange, Carthage, Toledo, Gangra, &c. made judgments in controversies of faith; not to speak of more recent decisions of the same kind. But, it is alleged, these synods never acted without regarding the church's faith; they sent their decrees to other churches for confirmation.[r] We reply, that the church of England cannot be proved to have despised the faith of the church at large, nor to have made reformations in doctrine without properly considering it. It was the

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[o] Bossuet, Variations, vii. s. 68.

[p] Thus the prelates of France, assembled at Poissy (A.D. 1561), petitioned the king to *approve* the regulations in discipline, and the confession of faith which they had agreed on. Fleury, Hist. l. 157, s. 37.

[q] Bossuet, Variations, vii. s. 69; and Defensio Declar. Cler. Gallican. lib. iii. c. 2. This point is well treated by Laud, Conference, sect. 24, n. 4, 5.

[r] Bossuet, ibid.

essential principle of the English Reformation throughout, that the doctrine and tradition of the catholic church of Christ, *in all ages*, were to be obediently followed, as I shall make evident hereafter. Even the parliament, which suppressed the papal jurisdiction, declared, "that they did not hereby intend to vary from Christ's church, about the articles of the catholic faith of Christendom."[s] King Henry VIII. declared, A. D. 1536, that "while he lived he would adhere to the faith and doctrine which had always been embraced by the true and catholic church."[t] The church of England, in 1543, declared the unity of the catholic church to consist chiefly in unity of *doctrine;* and that particular churches ought not to vary from one another in the said doctrine, so accepted and allowed.[u] And in 1562, the church of England declared, that "the church has authority in controversies of faith."[v] Accordingly, when Cranmer appealed to a general council, against the judgment of the Roman pontiff, his language was this: "I intend to speak nothing against one holy catholic and apostolical church, or the authority thereof, the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is *in all things to obey*"[w] . . . and again: "I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ."[x]

But, while it is evident that the church of England did not act without considering the doctrine of the church in all ages, still the examples of ancient councils prove, that it was not necessary to *wait* for the reformation of errors and abuses, until the judgment of the *existing* universal church was made known by means of an œcumenical council. And if the church of England did not send her decrees of doctrine to other churches for their approbation, the reason was, because this

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[s] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 265.

[t] Collier, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. Rec. 38.

[u] Formularies of Faith, p. 246. [v] Article XX.

[w] Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 121. [x] Ibid. 126, 127.

discipline was *obsolete* in the church; and, besides, several of these churches viewed us as schismatics, and would have refused any act of communion.

IX. But, it is suggested, the judgment of the universal church might have been known without waiting for a general council, by the decree of the pope, accepted by all the bishops of the catholic church.[y] Now, my reply to this is, that the judgment of the bishop of Rome *alone*, would not, in the opinion of the church of England, have been of greater authority than that of her own provincial or national synods; and the notion of the papal decrees, in matters of doctrine, deriving infallibility from the *acceptance* of all other bishops, was at that time almost unknown.[z] Besides this, the bishop of Rome had separated himself from our churches, and being out of our communion, we could not invite his co-operation.

X. But we are now to examine the question in another point of view; and having cleared the church of England from these charges, to retort them on her adversaries.

The pretensions, exactions, and usurpations of the Roman pontiffs, in England and elsewhere, were evidently founded in the unholy passions of ambition, avarice, and the pride of earthly domination. They reasoned not merely on false principles in maintaining it, but made use of forgeries, acknowledged to be such by the most enlightened of their own communion,[a] and of temporal force, exciting insurrections against the sovereigns who resisted it, depriving them of their dominions, proclaiming crusades against them. Therefore the origin of the Roman ordinary jurisdiction over particular churches, was unholy.

The principle of obedience to the Roman pontiff, as the true

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[y] Bossuet, Variations, vii. s. 70.

[z] This notion seems to have been developed only in the Jansenistic controversy. It was most certainly not generally agreed on even at that time in the Roman obedience.

[a] See Fleury, Discours IV. sur l'Hist. Ecclésiastique; Hist. Eccl. l. 44, n. 22; Du Pin, Bibliothèque; and especially Van Espen, Tractatus Historico-Canonicus in Canones, &c. Pars iv. c. 1. Oper. tom. v. p. 123, &c.

test of catholic unity, was a principle tending to schism. It was never taught by the Gospel, and it was injurious to the catholic communion of churches; because it interrupted that communion, whenever any church refused to submit to the unjust pretensions of the Roman see. This principle divided the Western from the Eastern churches, as it separated several of the Western churches from the English church.

The principle of papal infallibility, maintained by the pontiffs and their partizans, established a new tribunal, injurious to the authority of the catholic church itself, by binding that church to receive implicitly the decrees of a single bishop, instead of judging them by the catholic doctrine; and it tended to schism, by obliging those who received it, to believe as matters of faith, whatever the pontiffs decreed; and therefore to reject, as heretical, those churches which did not receive them.

The conduct of the Roman bishop was altogether inconsistent with fraternal unity, in condemning the churches of England as schismatical and heretical, for their suppression of his jurisdiction in England, which had been either usurped illegally, or had been derived from the same church which now withdrew her commission. It was absolutely schismatical in the Roman pontiffs to send missionaries to England and Ireland, to excite divisions in these churches, and withdraw the people from the obedience of their legitimate pastors. It was grievously schismatical to ordain bishops and clergy for the sects thus formed, and to recognize them as churches of Christ, and to give, or encourage them to assume, the name of catholic. Thus, in relation to the church of England, the pontiffs were guilty of the most irregular proceedings, and the most inconsistent with the principles of fraternal charity that well can be imagined. We know indeed, and can make allowance for the *opinions* relating to the Roman power, then commonly prevalent; and therefore we do not involve in the charge of real schism, all who sanctioned these proceedings; but the imputation of actual, though not always of formal schism, rests on all those who took a part in ex-

citing divisions and separations from the catholic churches of these realms.

XI. Finally, the Romish party in these countries committed schism in separating from the communion of the church, and the obedience of their legitimate pastors, in the reign of Elizabeth. It is certain, that during the reigns of Henry VIII. and successors, until the eleventh year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there were not two separate communions and worships in England. All the people were subject to the same pastors, attended the same churches, and received the same sacraments. It was only about 1570 that the Romish party, at the instigation of foreign emissaries, separated itself and fell from the catholic church of England. This is proved in many ways. Lord Coke in 1607 declared, that "generally all the papists in this kingdom, not any of them did refuse to come to our church, and yield their formal obedience to the laws established. And thus they all continued; not any one refusing to come to our churches during the first ten years of her majesty's government. And in the beginning of the eleventh year of her reign, Cornwallis, Bedingfield, and Silyarde, were the first recusants, they absolutely refusing to come to our churches; and until they in that sort began, the name of recusant was never heard of amongst us."[b] Sir E. Coke had already asserted the same in the trial of Henry Garnet, Jesuit, in 1606, when he said that before the bull of Pius V., "in the eleventh year of the queen, wherein her majesty was excommunicated and deposed, and all they accursed who should yield any obedience to her . . . there were no recusants in England; all came to church (howsoever popishly inclined or persuaded in most points) to the same divine service we now use; but thereupon presently they refused to assemble in our churches . . . not for conscience of anything there done, against which they might justly except out of the word of God; but because the pope had excommunicated

[b] Coke, speech and charge at Norwich Assizes, 1607.

and deposed her majesty, and cursed those who should obey her; and so upon this bull ensued open rebellion in the North."[c] The Jesuit Garnet in his reply said, he knew some persons who before that bull refused to go to church all the time of Queen Elizabeth, "though perhaps most 'catholics' did indeed go to church before." He pretended that it had been declared unlawful to attend our churches, by certain theologians at the synod of Trent;[d] to which Coke replied, that this synod closed in the fifth year of Elizabeth, whereas, the Romish party in England continued to come to our churches even till the *nineteenth* year of her reign.[e] And Parsons the Jesuit, in his reply to Coke's Reports, having asserted that some individuals refused to attend the service of the church from the beginning of that reign, adds: "I deny not, but that many other besides these, throughout the realm, though otherwise 'catholics' in heart, (as most then were,) did at that time and after, as also *now*, either upon fear, or lack of better instruction, or both, repair to 'protestant' churches."[f]

But the fact is rendered, if possible, more certain by the queen's instructions to Walsingham, her resident at the French court (11th August, 1570,) in which it is said of the heads of the popish party, that "they did ordinarily resort, from the beginning of her reign, in all open places, to the churches, and to divine service in the church, without any contradiction or show of misliking."[g] And about the same time a royal declaration, published in the Star-chamber, informs us, that although some persons had been lately questioned by the council on matters of

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[c] State Trials, vol. i. p. 242. (Trial of Henry Garnet, Jesuit.) See also Coke's reports, fifth part, p. 34, 35. Bramhall shows the treasonable principles and conduct of the papists during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign.—Works, p. 183—185.

[d] Ibid. p. 249. [e] Ibid. p. 252.

[f] Parson's Answer to the fifth part of Sir E. Coke's Reports, p. 371. (1606.)

[g] Heylin, History of the Presbyterians, p. 260.

religion, it had been occasioned by their own misbehaviour: "It was because they broke the laws, because they declined coming to church, to common prayer and divine service, as they had usually done for nine or ten years together."[h] After this it is needless to cite the concurrent testimony of Bishop Lancelot Andrewes,[i] Dr. Heylin,[k] Archbishop Bramhall,[l] &c.

The separation, in fact, was caused by the exhortations of the seminary priests, whom Dr. Allen began to send into England, from his college at Rheims, in 1568;[m] and it was increased by the Jesuits, who came under Parsons and Campion in 1580. There is no reason to suppose, that those papists who refused the oath of regal supremacy in 1559, and remained in England, separated themselves from the public service of the church, or celebrated any other worship contrary to the laws of the land. The separation in 1570 is uniformly spoken of by the queen herself, and by all our writers, as a thing novel and unprecedented. A society formed in this manner, by voluntary separation from a church of Christ, was totally cut off from the unity of the catholic church; nor is it to be alleged in reply, that the new community was recognized by the Roman bishops and some of the Western churches; for this only proves that the Roman bishops encouraged schism, and the other churches were misled by their excessive veneration for the Roman see, and by the misrepresentations of the enemies of the church of England; therefore their sanction to the new community, being given on erroneous information, could not afford any justification of it.

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[h] Collier, Eccl. History, ii. p. 524.

[i] Andrewes, Tortura Torti, p. 130.

[k] Heylin, ut supra. For several of the preceding proofs I am indebted to the kindness of a venerable man, whose learning and piety shed lustre on this University.

[l] Works, p. 241, where he cites a contemporary tract, and also Camden's History, to prove the fact.

[m] Dodd, Church History, ii. p. 403.

It is evident then, that the whole separation or schism was originated and effected by the Roman pontiffs and their adherents, not by the churches among us. I repeat it, as a fact which ought never to be forgotten, that WE DID NOT GO OUT FROM THEM; but, as the apostle says, THEY WENT OUT FROM US;[n] thus bearing what is, as Bossuet well observes, the invariable mark of schism and heresy in every age:[o] "Non enim nos ab illis, sed illi a nobis recesserunt."[p]

Hence it follows that the Romish communities in England are not churches of Christ; and we have an additional proof of this in the fact, that they are unable to show any succession of the episcopacy in their conventicles. The pope indeed sent a titular bishop to them in 1625, whose successor went to France in 1629, and returned no more;[q] and up to the present time the Romish community has not had any bishops, for although the vicars apostolic (as they call themselves) pretend to the episcopal character, this character is by no means essential to their office;[r] their successors may be priests or monks,[s] and they have no ordinary power over the English Romanists, being merely deputies of the Roman pontiff, who may revoke their commissions, without any trial, at his own will and pleasure.[t]

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[n] 1 John ii. 19.

[o] First Pastoral Instruction on the promises to the church.

[p] Cyprianus de Unitate.

[q] See Dodd's Church History.

[r] Benedict XIV. de Synodo Diocesana, lib. ii. c. 10, where he says they are "interdum quidem sine Episcopali charactere interdum autem hujusmodi charactere insigniti, cum titulo tamen alicujus Ecclesiæ in partibus infidelium sitæ, ut spirituale regimen gerant alicujus regionis, cujus episcopus et pastor proprius non existat."

[s] The Vicar Apostolic (so called) in Sweden is a priest.—Parliamentary Report on Roman Catholic Subjects, 1816, p. 452.

[t] In 1817 the papists of the London district petitioned the Roman pontiff most earnestly not to remove Dr. Poynter from the situation of Vicar Apostolic; to which he was pleased to reply, that he had no intention of doing so.—See Roman Cath. Magazine for 1817, p. 243.

Consequently as vicars apostolic they have no episcopal jurisdiction in England; and as titular bishops, 'in partibus infidelium,' they have no jurisdiction any where. Therefore they are not, properly speaking, bishops; and the Romanists of England are devoid of any apostolical succession of bishops, not to speak of some serious difficulties which affect the validity of their orders in these countries, and which will be considered elsewhere.[u]

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[u] See Part VI. chapter on Romish Ordinations.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY AND ACTS OF THE CIVIL POWER DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII. AND EDWARD VI.

In considering the title of supreme head of the church of England, given to Henry VIII. by the clergy of England, we must be careful to distinguish the sense in which they allowed it the king, from any exaggerated and unsound meaning which may have been affixed to it by courtiers or lawyers: for the former only is the church of England responsible; the latter she is not concerned with.

I. When it was proposed to the clergy of the Convocation of Canterbury, to acknowledge the king supreme head of the church and clergy of England, they absolutely refused to pass this title simply and unconditionally; and, after much discussion, the king was at last obliged to accept it with a *proviso*, introduced by the clergy, to the following effect: "Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem et unicum et supremum dominum, et (*quantum per Christi legem licet*) etiam supremum caput, ipsius majestatem recognoscimus."[a]

To recognize the king as supreme head of the English church, "as far as it is allowable by the law of Christ," certainly was not to admit his right to interfere with the spiritual jurisdiction of bishops, or with any of the laws, liberties, doctrines, or rites of the church, established either directly or indirectly by the law of Christ. The clergy of England were entitled to believe that they had saved all the spiritual rights of

[a] Burnet, Hist. Refor. vol. iii. p. 90—92, and vol. i. p. 205; Collier, vol. ii. p. 62. This account is drawn up from the authentic records of the proceedings of convocation. The author of the Antiquitates Britanniæ (attributed to Parker) incorrectly states that the proposed qualification, "quantum per Christi legem licet," was left out finally.

the church by this proviso; and, indeed, we learn from Burnet, that "those who adhered to their former notions," *i. e.* the church generally, "understood this headship to be only a temporal authority in temporal matters."[b] I shall not here enter on the general question of the authority of the king in ecclesiastical affairs, which will be discussed elsewhere;[c] but it is admitted by the theologians and canonists of the Roman obedience, that Christian kings have generally a supreme power of external direction in such matters.[d] It has been shown by our writers

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[b] Burnet, iii. 92. Archbishop Bramhall terms our kings "political heads" of the English church.—Works, p. 25.

[c] See Part V.

[d] Stapleton, Princip. Doctr. lib. v. c. 17; Champney, De Vocat. Ministr. c. 16; Thomassin. Eccl. Discipl. tom. ii. lib. 3. c. 92. sect. 12, &c.; Rechberger (chancellor of the diocese of Lintz) maintains the regal power of superintendence and vigilance over the transactions and decrees of the church, of enacting laws on disciplinary matters for the church, of correcting abuses, limiting religious rites, enjoining silence in controversies of faith, establishing uniformity in divine service, abolishing festivals, &c.—See Report of Committee on Rom. Cath. subjects (1816), pp. 80—114. De Marca, archbishop of Paris, informs us that Molinæus, Fauchetius, Pithœus, Hotmannus, Servinus, &c.; who were all eminent writers of the Roman communion, teach "that the R. pontiff exercised no authority in Gaul before the sixth century; that in all that interval, of almost 600 years, *the king* alone presided over the Gallican church as *head*."—Proleg. ad lib. de Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. p. 71. The Answer of the Prince de Kaunitz, chancellor of the empire, to the papal nuncio Garampi, A. D. 1781, and which is referred to as of high authority in Austria, claims for the prince a most extensive supremacy over the church. It asserts that "the reform of abuses which do not concern dogmatical or merely spiritual points . . . belongs exclusively to the sovereign, who alone commands, and alone has the right to command in the state. That to this authority belongs, *without any exception*, whatever relates to the external discipline of the clergy;" and that the power of the state "comprises without any exception, *whatever is of human institution* in the Christian church."—See the Report above referred to, p. 144, 145. The government of Napoleon, it will be recollected, declared that the French sovereigns regarded themselves as "*les évêques du dehors*," and always exercised power over the clergy in matters of dis-

that the kings of England always were the supreme political governors or heads of our national church.[e] The most learned lawyers, Fitzherbert and Coke, affirm, that the law confirming the royal supremacy was only declaratory of the ancient laws of England;[f] and Bossuet himself only condemns this supremacy on the erroneous supposition that it was admitted to affect fundamentally the validity of all ecclesiastical acts, not if it were understood to relate to a merely external direction and execution.[g]

Now, it is incredible that the clergy, in acknowledging the supremacy "as far as it is allowable by the law of Christ," could have designed to admit that all their ecclesiastical acts emanated from, or were fundamentally affected as to their validity by the royal power. They could not at once in a body have relinquished the notions which had always hitherto prevailed; and there is evidence that they did not, as we shall see in discussing the royal commissions for bishoprics. Indeed, king Henry himself, in a letter to Tunstall, bishop of Durham, who thought the title of "Head" could not with propriety be given to man, unless it were limited to *temporals*, seems to restrain his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to such things as were of a temporal or of a mixed nature, such as the assembling of convocations and confirming their laws,[h] the appointment of bishops

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cipline, worship, &c.—Mém. Eccl. de France, tom. i. p. 71. [Above, p. 327, note [m]; this "external Episcopate," claimed, and used with such effect, by Lewis XIV. was based, both *name* and thing on that of Constantine and his successors.]

[e] Archbishop Bramhall, Works, p. 25. 69, &c.

[f] Ibid. p. 77.

[g] Bossuet, Variations, l. x. n. 14.

[h] Thomassin observes that the Gallican convocations or assemblies of the clergy, were summoned by the king, that they exercised no acts of jurisdiction, deliberated and concluded on nothing without the king's permission; that the bishops sought in vain permission to hold synods, &c.—De Eccl. Discipl. l. ii. c. 56, 57. In fact, during the whole of last century the French bishops were petitioning the king ineffectually to be permitted to hold provincial synods. See also Fleury, Droit Eccl. ii. c. 2, and 25; Van Espen says a royal minister was always present in the synods of Belgium, which

and abbots,[i] the cognizance of causes in criminal matters, &c., in all of which he was actually, as he said, "Head," and because there was no one above him here, "Supreme Head." And he adds, "We be as God's law suffereth us to be, whereunto we do and must conform ourselves,"[k] apparently desiring that the recognition should be interpreted in no offensive or unorthodox sense. Tunstall was so far satisfied that its meaning was sound and good, that he consented, in 1535, to swear to the royal supremacy, and in 1536 wrote to cardinal Pole, justifying the king against the charge of confounding the royal and priestly offices.

The intention of the church of England in making this recognition was only to admit a general power of external control and direction in ecclesiastical affairs to the king, without relinquishing any of the ancient rights of the church. And if courtiers or lawyers pretended to understand it in a different sense, we are in no degree responsible for their errors.

II. It is an unfounded assertion of our adversaries of all denominations, that the *papal power was transferred to the king*. The royal supremacy was of a perfectly distinct nature from the papal jurisdiction. The clergy recognized the former, in the year 1531, as already existing; the papal jurisdiction continued *legally* to exist *along with it* till 1534, (of which we have a proof in the fact that Cranmer, in the judgment on king Henry's marriage, 1533, retained the title of "legate of the apostolic see"). It was then SUPPRESSED, not transferred to the king. The kings of England did not at any time pretend to succeed to the authority of the popes, but to that of their own royal predecessors.

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were summoned with the royal license; and their decrees were of no force till confirmed by the king.—Jus. Canon. p. i. tit. 20. c. 4. s. 3. 5. See also Bramhall, Works, 103. 112. 318. 319.

[i] The antiquity of this right, extending to the Norman conquest, is shown by Thomassin. Eccl. Discipl. t. ii. l. ii. c. 34. See also Bramhall, 75. 107. 314. 316.

[k] The letter of the king is found in the collection styled Cabala.

III. In 1533, the king was given by act of parliament the power of appointing delegates to hear appeals from the metropolitan courts of England in case of "lack of justice there" (Act 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19). But this was merely the principle of the *appel comme d'abus* so long practised in France, Germany, and all the other countries of the Roman obedience ;[1] and bishop Gibson observes that by the law these delegates ought to be *spiritual* persons, and that in fact there were no traces of nobility or common law judges in commission till 1604, seventy years after this act, and then not one in forty cases till 1639, when that court began to include ordinarily, laity as well as clergy.[m]

IV. The act of parliament 1534, confirming the royal su-

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[1] See Van Espen's Tractatus de Recursu ad Principem, where it is shown that the appeal to the temporal power from the unjust decrees, depositions, excommunications, &c. of the ecclesiastical authorities, is practised in every country of the Roman obedience. See also Fleury, Droit Eccl. tom. ii. c. xxiv. The *appel comme d'abus* has existed since the fourteenth century, and the appeals were heard by the French *parliaments*. It is established in Austria.—Rechberger, Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austr. The king of Sicily from the foundation of that monarchy, has judged finally in all ecclesiastical causes in his "Tribunal of the Monarchy," and cardinal Baronius observes, that "under the name of monarchy, besides that one monarch which all the faithful have ever acknowledged as the only visible head in the church, *another head* is risen up, and brought into the kingdom of Sicily, for a monster and a prodigy."—See Bramhall, Works, p. 114. Yet notwithstanding, the Sicilian church is not accounted heretical by Romanists.

[m] Gibson, Codex, vol. i. p. xxi. Bossuet therefore in vain accuses the church of England of giving the king the power of excommunication, Variat. vii. n. 47, 48. The king never excommunicates with us, but only the royal court, which comprises ecclesiastics. The king of Sicily excommunicates in the "tribunal of the monarchy." In Austria no one can be excommunicated without the emperor's consent, and the motives of excommunication must be previously discussed by an equal number of ecclesiastical and civil commissioners.—Rechberger, Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austr. s. 259. Bramhall understands this act only to give the king the power of appointing bishops to rehear causes.—Works, p. 63.

premacy, gave the king power to "visit and reform all heresies, errors, and other abuses, which in the spiritual jurisdiction ought to be reformed."[n] This, it is alleged, was an impious attempt to invest the king with real internal spiritual jurisdiction. But the church must have undoubtedly understood this act only to confer on the king the power of acting in these matters as his predecessors had done, *i. e.* by temporal means and penalties, and in concurrence with the judgment of the church of England, not in opposition to it. The bishops understood it in some such sense, for they not only offered no opposition to the passing of this bill, but immediately after swore to the king's supremacy.[o]

V. Their acknowledgment that all convocations had been and ought to be assembled by the king's writ,[p] apparently related only to convocations or assemblies of the clergy convened by the king, as one of the three estates of the realm to parliament; it does not seem that synods are here spoken of: but at all events, as I have observed before, synods cannot be assembled in any country of the Roman obedience without the royal license; and the promise which our clergy made at the same time,[q] to enact no new canons in future without the king's permission, was only consistent with the harmonious action of the temporal and spiritual powers; while it is also certain, that all temporal princes in the Roman communion exercise the power of rejecting whatever regulations of discipline (even those made in general councils,)[r] appear to them unadvisable.

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[n] Act 25 Henry VIII. c. 1. [o] Burnet, Hist. Ref. i. 330.

[p] Burnet, i. 270, 271.

[q] Burnet, ibid. It appears that the clergy only intended to refrain from enacting canons during the lifetime of king Henry, as a matter of special compliment, and that they made a *salvo* for the immunities and privileges of the church of England, and all existing provincial constitutions accordant with the law of God and the holy church.—Burnet, vol. iii. p. 133, 134. Records, n. 20.

[r] The kings of France have always rejected the discipline of the synod of Trent. It has been only imperfectly received in most countries of the

VI. The first act of the king was to appoint Cromwell, in 1535, his Vicar-General and Visitor of Monasteries. The former title was certainly novel, and sounded ill, but there being no evidence that it was intended in a heterodox sense, the church was not bound to resist the title or office. Louis XVI. king of France, also instituted a commission for examining the monastic orders,[s] and many of them were suppressed by this royal commission. The emperors and kings of the Carlovingian race had established permanent visitors of all orders of the clergy under the title of "Missi Dominici;"[t] therefore there was nothing intolerable in these acts of king Henry, nor did they imply (as Bossuet pretends) the assumption of papal power.[u]

VII. The archbishop of Canterbury in the same year obtained the king's license to make a provincial visitation,[v] but the reason of this was, because there was a reluctance in several of the bishops to allow such a visitation,[w] and therefore it was necessary to support the canonical power of the metropolitan by royal authority, not that any real spiritual jurisdiction was supposed to emanate from the crown.[x]

Roman obedience. See Mosheim, Cent. xvi. sect. iii. p. 1. n. xxiii. See also the learned treatise of Van Espen de Promulgatione Legum Eccl., in which he maintains the right of Christian princes to approve of ecclesiastical laws.

[s] Mém. pour ser. à l'Hist. Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. ii. p. 513, &c.

[t] See a most curious account of them in Thomassin. Eccl. Discipl. t. ii. l. iii. c. 92. According to him they "Exercised an episcopal function," were quasi-colleagues of the bishops, visited churches and monasteries, examined the lives and conduct of the clergy, the zeal of the bishops, their obedience to the canons made by imperial authority with the advice of the clergy, &c. They were commonly counts and other laymen. Such appointments could only be justified under extraordinary circumstances, and by the tacit sanction of the church.

[u] Bossuet, Variations, l. vii. n. 17. 76.

[v] Burnet, vol. i. p. 334.

[w] Le Bas, Life of Cranmer, vol. i. chap. v.

[x] Bossuet, Variations, l. vii. n. 18.

VIII. In 1536 the king issued injunctions or edicts in several matters of discipline to be executed in all the churches, and the clergy, it is said, "were much troubled at this precedent of the king's giving such injunctions to them, without the consent of the convocation; from which they concluded they were now to be slaves to the lord vicegerent."[y] Yet in fact such injunctions, though apparently novel, were not really unprecedented. The laws of the Roman emperors, Theodosius, Honorius, Justinian, &c., the capitulars of Charlemagne, Carolus Calvus, and of other emperors and kings of France, the ecclesiastical laws of the Saxon and Norman kings of England,[z] were all exactly of the same nature as these injunctions; that is, they were confirmatory of regulations already made by the church. Of the injunctions, some are for the enforcement of things recently decreed by the convocations of the clergy; others are confirmatory of the canons then in force. All were of such a nature that the church was not bound to oppose them. The same observations apply to the injunctions of Edward VI. in 1547, and to those of Elizabeth.

IX. Bossuet affirms that the articles of Doctrine of 1537 were decided and ordained only by the king, though he had previously heard the bishops, as judges hear experienced persons;[a] thereby insinuating that the king claimed, or was allowed, to have the power of dictating the religion of his subjects. But Henry VIII. himself, in the preface to these articles, declares that he had assembled the bishops and clergy in *convocation* "for the full debatement and quiet determination" of these questions of faith and discipline; and that he approves their "determination, debatement, and agreement," which ac-

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y Burnet, vol. i. p. 412.

z See Bramhall's Works, p. 88; 105, 106. 110; 73. &c. The ecclesiastical laws of the emperor Joseph II., of Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, of the duke of Parma, and the "Organic Articles" enacted by Napoleon, are all proofs that the same or greater power than that exercised by Henry VIII., is acknowledged to belong to princes of the Roman obedience.

a Bossuet, Var. l. vii. n. 29.

cordingly he commands all his subjects to receive.[b] This is only a royal confirmation of the church's decisions, such as is necessary even in every part of the Roman Obedience.

X. But the fact most relied on to demonstrate the exaggerated claims of the temporal power, and the improper subserviency of the church of England, is the issuing of *commissions* to the bishops.

In 1539, on the nomination of Boner to the see of London, he applied for and obtained a royal commission, dated Nov. 12th, probably in order to ingratiate himself with the king. There is no evidence that the other bishops during the reign of Henry VIII. required or obtained such commissions; but I contend that the commission itself is capable of an orthodox sense, and that it must be understood in that sense. It declares that "all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical and secular, emanates from the king, that it was fitting that those who had hitherto exercised it only precariously, should acknowledge that it was conferred by the king's liberality, and should be ready to relinquish it when he judges right" .... that therefore, "since the king's vicegerent was occupied by arduous business," the king declared the bishop to be in his stead, and licensed him to perform all which concerned the episcopal authority and jurisdiction, "*besides* and *beyond* those things which are discerned from the holy Scriptures *to be committed to thee by God;*" and declares that this license is only to last during the king's pleasure."[c] Now, however wide and high sounding the terms of this commission may appear, I contend that it does not necessarily convey a heterodox meaning; for it may be understood to confer ecclesiastical jurisdiction not *in foro conscientiæ* and as operating internally, but as *externally and legally coercive.*

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[b] Formularies of Faith, Oxford, p. 4.

[c] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 484, 485. Records, n. 14. Bossuet, Variations, l. vii. n. 45. I am ashamed to put in such close connexion with him Micaiah Towgood on Dissent, p. 22, 23; but both unite in assailing us on this point.

Thus, in other words, it amounts to nothing more than a grant of temporal authority confirmatory of that spiritual authority given to bishops by the word of God. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction might in this sense be most truly said to emanate from the king, to be conferred by his bounty, and liable to be withdrawn when he pleased; and the king might authorize his bishops to ordain, institute, nominate to benefices, prove wills, grant administration, judge causes, and exercise all other parts of the episcopal jurisdiction, always understanding that this license conferred no proper spiritual power, but one which was in its nature entirely temporal. Thus may these expressions be understood, according to the doctrine of our theologians Bramhall,[d] Leslie,[e] Gibson,[f] &c. But it is evident, in fact, that it must have been so understood. The "Institution of a Christian Man," approved by the king himself and by twenty-one archbishops and bishops, in 1537, only two years before this commission was issued to Boner, maintained that "*God's law*" committed to bishops or priests the powers of *jurisdiction*, in excommunicating and absolving offenders, (but "not with violence or corporeal restraint,") in ordaining and nominating ministers, and in making *canons* concerning discipline, rites, &c.,[g] and limits the jurisdiction of princes, conferred by them on the church, to corporal and legal powers, and to certain privileges in matters of a temporal and civil nature,[h] and acknowledges that it is lawful for princes to "revoke and call again into their own hands, or otherwise to restrain all the power and jurisdiction which was given and assigned unto priests and bishops by the license, consent, sufferance, and authority of the said kings and princes, and not by the authority of God and his gospel."[i] This document, exhibiting the doctrine publicly maintained by

[d] Bramhall, Works, p. 77. [e] Leslie, Regale and Pontificate, s. 9.

[f] Gibson, Codex, vol. i. p. xvii. xviii. See also Mason, Burnet, Brett, and others cited by Courayer in his Defence of English Ordinations, chapter xi.

[g] Formularies of Faith, p. 107—110.

[h] Ibid. p. 113. [i] Ibid. p. 114.

the church and by Henry VIII. at that moment, suffices to determine the sense in which the commission was issued to be orthodox, and proves that the power conferred by, and supposed to emanate from the king, was in its nature only *temporal*.

In the first year of Edward VI. the bishops were required to take out similar commissions, which we have no reason to suppose were issued or received in a different sense. It is not to be denied however that they are capable of a heterodox sense, and as it was immediately affixed by the partizans of Rome, it was right, in order to avoid scandal, that the practice should be discontinued; accordingly it was discontinued, for none of the new bishops were required to take out similar commissions.[k]

XI. On the same principle we explain the act of parliament in 1547, declaring that as all jurisdiction, spiritual and temporal, emanates from the king, all proceedings in the episcopal courts shall be in the king's name, and sealed with his arms.[l] The jurisdiction here spoken of was not the spiritual jurisdiction as given by the law of God to his ministers, and operating on the conscience, but an ecclesiastical jurisdiction *legally coercive*. It related entirely to processes in the recognized ecclesiastical courts of law; and by the very same act, the bishops might use their own names and seals in admitting their chancellors, commissioners, &c. and in commissions of suffragan bishops, faculties, dispensations, collations, presentations, gifts, institutions, inductions, letters of orders, or dimissories.[m] So that there was no intention of interfering with the real spiritual jurisdiction of bishops. This act was subsequently repealed.[n]

XII. The royal visitations of England in 1536, 1547, and in the reign of Elizabeth, were not unprecedented in the church. Charlemagne and his successors had appointed visitors of the German and French churches, when many abuses were to be reformed.[o] The object was then, as it was in England, to en-

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[k] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 10.
[l] Act 1 Edw. VI. c. 2.
[m] Ibid.
[n] Gibson, Codex, p. 967.
[o] See above, note t, p. 432.

force regulations approved by the church and confirmatory of the canons; and though it is true that such visitations might form precedents for future invasions of ecclesiastical liberties, still their objects were laudable, and it does not appear that the church was strictly bound to offer any opposition to them.

XIII. The council of Edward VI. in 1547 issued a proclamation, equivalent then in law to an act of parliament, which, it is said, suspended the jurisdiction of bishops and archbishops during the royal visitation, and required the clergy to preach only in their own churches, unless they obtained special license from the king. The mere recital of such acts, according to Bossuet, shows their iniquity.[p] I will not maintain that this proceeding was altogether free from fault, but the proclamation did not pretend to *suspend* the jurisdiction of the bishops; it only required them not to exercise it "to the *prejudice* of the royal visitation," under pain of contempt. And it did not pretend to silence the clergy, but directed the bishops to inhibit them;[q] thus recognizing the episcopal authority. As to the royal pretence to license preachers, it was an irregularity which the church was not called to pronounce upon.[r]

XIV. The royal injunctions issued at this time, enjoined the clergy to pray publicly for the king as supreme head of the

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[p] Bossuet, Variations, l. vii. n. 77.

[q] Burnet, vol. ii. b. i. Rec. 7.

[r] The emperor Joseph II. took on him to *silence* preachers.—Mém. Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. iii. p. 22. Charles V. in 1553 also silenced the preachers of both parties, as we learn from Melancthon, epist. lib. iv. 99. The pretence to *license* preachers was not more irregular than this: and the various restraints put on preaching during the time of violent controversies by king Edward VI., which Bossuet alludes to, (Var. vii. 79.) were merely in accordance with the right of Christian kings to preserve the peace of their dominions. Rechberger, a Roman canonist, asserts their right to enjoin silence in controversies of faith, and this right was exercised by the emperor Joseph II. in his decrees of 1781 and 1782, which prohibited all discussion on the bull Unigenitus, and which are still in force. Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austriac.

church of England, and the violation of this rule was to be punished by suspension, deprivation, and excommunication. "Behold," says Bossuet, "in the ecclesiastical penalties, all the essence of the pastoral authority usurped by the king, and the inmost deposit of the sanctuary torn from the sacerdotal order."[s] The answer is simply, that these penalties were not to be inflicted by the king but by the bishops. *They* were enjoined to see this regulation executed, *i. e.* to suspend, depose, or excommunicate the clergy who disobeyed it.[t] Their authority was called in to the aid of the royal power, and it is certain that Christian kings have often required their bishops to support their regulations in a similar manner.

XV. The lower house of convocation in 1547 addressed the bishops, desiring, among other things, that, according to the ancient custom, the inferior clergy might be again admitted to sit in the house of commons, "or else, that all such statutes and ordinances as shall be made concerning all matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical, may not pass without the sight and assent of the said clergy."[u] Bossuet misrepresents this as follows: "They asked as a favour of parliament, that the affairs of religion should not be regulated without at least taking their advice and listening to their reasons. What misery! to reduce themselves to be listened to as mere advisers, they who ought to have been heard as judges, and of whom Jesus Christ said: 'He that heareth you heareth me.' But that, says our historian, did not succeed."[v]

Now the request was not to parliament but to the bishops; it was not made by the bishops but by the presbyters of the church; and finally it did not fail of success; for it appears that the consent of convocation or of the clergy was sought and obtained in all the chief measures affecting the church which followed, (as we shall presently see:) and in fine the historian

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[s] Bossuet, Var. l. vii. n. 77.

[t] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 53.

[u] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 87. Rec. n. 16.

[v] Bossuet, Var. l. vii. n. 78.

alluded to did not mean that this request failed of success, but that the proposed *alternative* of sitting in parliament did so.

XVI. This is succeeded by another misrepresentation. "They did not blush to require from bishops an express declaration 'to make profession of the doctrine as it should be from time to time established and explained by the king and by the clergy.'"[w] This promise, which one would suppose was required from several bishops, was only sought by the council from one (Gardiner,) who was extremely refractory and turbulent; and he answered that he would conform himself as the other bishops did.[x] It will be remembered that the conduct here attributed to the civil power was actually realized afterwards in the Roman church by the emperor Joseph II., who issued a decree "which compelled all the bishops of his hereditary states to promise obedience to all the orders which had already emanated from the emperor, or which he might publish hereafter."[y]

XVII. It is alleged, that in the time of Edward VI. all the most important changes in the form of ordinations, the public service, the body of the canons, &c., were regulated by the king or parliament, to the annihilation of the church's power.[z] This is far from the truth. The parliament only added the force of the temporal law to the determinations of convocations or bishops, or at least its regulations were confirmed by ecclesiastical authority.

Thus, in 1547, an act passed for communion in both kinds, and against private masses, on the ground of Scripture and primitive practice; but the convocation also agreed to it.[a] In 1548, an act legalized the marriage of priests; but the clergy had decided this point of discipline in their convocation the

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[w] Bossuet, ibid.

[x] Burnet, ii. 103.

[y] Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontif. t. i. p. 236.

[z] Bossuet, Var. l. vii. n. 76.

[a] Burnet ii. 92; Le Bas, Life of Cranmer, i. 291.

preceding year, and they now confirmed it again.[b] In 1549, the Ritual having been prepared by bishops and theologians at Windsor, was authorized by act of parliament; but it was also approved by convocation in November, 1548.[c] When a new office for ordinations was provided for by parliament, it was to be left to the composition of six bishops, and six theologians.[d] The alterations in the Ritual confirmed by parliament, A.D. 1552, had been made by bishops in the preceding year.[e] Thus there was always a respect paid to the priesthood; and if in any point the temporal government neglected some of the usual forms, the church always retained the power of rejecting any regulation inconsistent with the catholic faith or discipline.

XVIII. It only remains to notice the deprivations of bishops by the civil power, and it may be at once conceded that the principle of such deprivations cannot be approved of; but irregularities of this kind have been often practised in the church. Justinian, and many others of the Eastern emperors, expelled bishops from their sees,[f] and in more modern times this conduct has been imitated in churches of the Roman obedience. Cardinal de Chatillon was expelled from his see by the civil power in France,[g] and the emperors Joseph II. and Napoleon suppressed sees in their respective dominions.[h] The church is sometimes obliged to submit to such irregularities in order to avoid greater evils, and even to ordain bishops in the

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[b] Ibid. and p. 172.

[c] Ibid. ii. 87. 113. Le Bas, Cranmer, i. 315, 316.

[d] Ibid. p. 262.

[e] Wheatley on the Common Prayer.

[f] Bramhall, Works, p. 89. De Marca, Concord. Sacer. et Imperii. lib. iv. c. 18. See also the treatise of Nicephorus, edited by Dr. Hody, at Oxford, 1691, and of Methodius, published by Cardinal Maio, in the third volume of the Ancient Remains, p. 247, &c.

[g] Of Beauvais. See Gallia Christiana, tom. ix.

[h] Mémoires Eccl. xviii. siècle, tom. ii. p. 22; iii. 504.

place of those who have been deprived;[i] and thus whatever may have been the justice of the deprivations of two alien bishops, or of two others accused of crimes against the state, the church of England was the proper judge whether these deprivations were tolerable, and she had the power of sanctioning them.

In the reign of Edward VI. several deprivations of bishops took place, by means of royal commissions, sometimes consisting of bishops, sometimes of laymen, which were apparently unjust as well as irregular. Boner, bishop of London, Gardiner of Winchester, Heath of Worcester, Day of Chichester, and Tunstall of Durham, were expelled successively from their sees between 1549 and 1553.[k] These irregularities I do not pretend to justify.

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[i] See Hody, Case of sees vacant by an unjust or uncanonical deprivation.

[k] Burnet, ii. 234. 280. 305. 375. 398. Le Bas, Cranmer, i. 329.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE REIGN OF MARY.

The deprivations of bishops alluded to above, were acts deserving of censure ; and we therefore cannot view as an irregularity or an injustice the restoration of bishops Boner, Gardiner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall to their sees by the royal commissions of queen Mary,[a] though the result was the expulsion of bishops Ridley, Poynet, and Scory, who had occupied those sees with at least the tacit sanction of the church. But other proceedings followed, which were too obviously dictated by a spirit of vengeance and hatred. The removal of bishop Hooper by the queen, from his see of Gloucester, which he held by regular and canonial institution,[b] was altogether unjustifiable. Voysey was irregularly restored to the see of Exeter, by an order under the great seal, expelling without any trial or formality whatever, bishop Coverdale, who had succeeded on his voluntary resignation.[c] Pates, who had been nominated to the see of Worcester many years before by the pope, contrary to the ecclesiastical and civil regulations made in the reign of Henry VIII., was intruded into that see by royal authority.[d] But in March, 1554, an unprecedented violation of justice and of ecclesiastical liberties took place. *Royal commissions* were appointed for the deprivation of no less than seven archbishops and bishops at once, some for the fact of marriage which the church of England had sanctioned, and others on a vague charge of offences, and the clause in their patents given by Edward VI. (which was a mere nullity) "quamdiu se bene gesse-

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[a] Burnet, ii. 443. [b] Ib. ii. 282. [c] Ib. 306. [d] Burnet, ii. 585.

rint."[e] Thus nine bishops were almost at once driven from their sees by the royal power. The bishop of Bath was compelled to resign by threats and intimidation.[f] This is exclusive of Ridley, Poynet, and Scory, who were at once harshly expelled, and of archbishop Cranmer, afterwards degraded by two papal delegates, who besides being incompetent to judge according to the canons,[g] acted by a power which was irregular and null, the papal jurisdiction having been suppressed in England and never regularly revived again.

It is in vain that Bossuet would cloak the scandal of such proceedings by pretending that "until the ecclesiastical order was re-established they acted against the Protestants on *their own* maxims."[h] If these maxims were wrong in themselves, it could not be justifiable to act on them. They could only have afforded a sufficient reason for proceeding in a lawful manner against any who could have been proved to hold them. But there is no evidence that any maxims were received either by the church of England generally, or by the prelates so arbitrarily and irregularly expelled, which could justify such proceedings.

Acts of such violence were without parallel in history. The expulsion of so many bishops by royal commissions; bishops not intruded into their sees by force, or on any doubtful title; and this too by a queen so well aware of the incompetency of the temporal power for such acts, as to refuse the title of Head of the church of England, decline accepting the oath of supremacy, and repeal all the laws establishing the ecclesiastical power of the crown; this expulsion, I say, is too obviously at-

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[e] Burnet, ii. 494, 495. [f] Ibid. p. 497.

[g] According to the canons of the synod of Antioch (can. 4. 12.), and the African code (can. 12.), a bishop could only be deprived regularly by a provincial synod or by twelve bishops. Besides this the pope had no right, even by the canon of Sardica, to judge bishops in the first instance. He could only have appointed delegates in case of an appeal.

[h] Variat. l. vii. n. 99.

tributable to a spirit of hatred towards those bishops who promoted the reformation of the church of England and its independence of the Roman pontiffs; and to the revengeful feeling of Gardiner and Boner, who being elevated to the head of affairs (Gardiner was immediately made lord chancellor of England), had the power as well as the inclination to persecute their opponents. The same motives which influenced Gardiner and Boner operated on Tunstall, Heath, and Day, ranging them in opposition to the cause of the reformation in the church of England. They were reinforced by a few weak or time-serving prelates, and by fourteen *new* bishops selected for their implicit devotion to the Roman pontiff, and chiefly intruders into the sees of the expelled bishops.

In contemplating these proceedings in the reign of Mary, we observe all the principles of ecclesiastical discipline violated by the popish party, in their anxiety to place these churches under that jurisdiction of the Roman see which they imagined to be essential to catholic unity. This imagined necessity caused them to violate the rules of the church, and to subvert our liberties, contrary to the spirit and express injunctions of the canons. The usurped and novel jurisdiction of the Roman see had been removed twenty years before, in accordance with the canon of the œcumenical synod of Ephesus, which decreed that the liberties of churches should be preserved, and that every province should retain those rights which it had possessed from the beginning.[1] The ancient liberty of the church of England had, after due inquiry, been revived, and had continued in force for such a time; and it was a sacrifice of the interests of religion, of the freedom, and the proper discipline of the church of England, and of the princi-

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[1] Canon VIII. See Barnes, Catholico-Romanus pacific. sect. iii. where the liberties of the British church are defended. See also Bingham, Orig. Eccl. book ix. c. 1; Bramhall, Works, p. 77—85; Stillingfleet, Origines Britannicæ; Basire, Diatriba de Antiq. Eccl. Brit. Libert.

ples of the sacred canons, to introduce again the absolute authority of the Roman pontiff.

It may be most reasonably denied that the church of England could even by a synodical judgment have revived this power, contrary to the decree of an œcumenical synod in a case of general discipline, where a great principle of universal application was laid down ; but there was no synodical examination or judgment on the question ; the papal party in the church, having expelled their opponents from their sees, submitted themselves blindly to the authority of the Roman pontiff, superstitiously imploring his *forgiveness* for the sin of which they had been guilty in removing his usurped jurisdiction.[k] This mere *submission*, without any formal examination and enactment, could not erect the papal authority in England ; and consequently all the acts subsequently performed by that authority in England were irregularities, usurpations, nullities. It was only fit that what had begun without order, reason, and ecclesiastical authority, should be sustained by violence. Accordingly upwards of three thousand clergy were expelled from their churches,[l] and those who were most resolute in refusing to wear the papal yoke, were obliged to take refuge in exile, or were delivered to the flames.

Thus was the church of England miserably distracted and persecuted under the dominion of the papal faction, as the Oriental churches in the time of Constantius were by usurping Arian bishops. We cannot recognize in the changes which they effected, any regular or valid ecclesiastical authority. The rule which they followed, was not the judgment of the catholic and primitive church, but the decrees of the modern bishops of Rome. They were men who had usurped irregularly the episcopal sees of others ; who acted in disobedience to the laws and customs of the church of England, by jurisdiction delegated from the Roman pontiff ; or who had been intruded into English

[k] Burnet, ii. 528 ; iii. 412.

[l] Burnet, ibid.

sees by his nominations, which conferred no title whatever. The church of England, oppressed by these schismatics, beheld her liberties sacrificed, her institutions altered for the worse in many respects, and the abuses which she had removed forced upon her again.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

The scene changed on the accession of Elizabeth, who was made the instrument of putting in force all the laws and regulations of the church of England, which had been disobeyed and violated by the papal faction in the last reign. She found the episcopal sees filled chiefly by intruders of that party, but several were vacant.

It is contended by Romanists and other opponents of the church, that the reformations in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign were contradictory to the principles of ecclesiastical authority. I fully admit that they are indefensible on papal principles, because they had the radical fault of being in disobedience to the bishop of Rome; but I contend that they were in no respect contradictory to the principles of the catholic church.

There are three points in which these reformations are chiefly assailed. First, the enacting of ecclesiastical regulations in parliament, without the consent of the bishops, or of the convocation of the clergy; secondly, the expulsion of those bishops from their sees; and, thirdly, the appointment of successors in their place. Hence it is argued, that all the proceedings concerning religion at that time, were made by an incompetent and schismatical authority, that the church of England was involved in schism,[a] &c. I shall notice these objections successively.

I. It is admitted that the parliament passed acts for abolishing the papal jurisdiction, and establishing the regal supremacy,

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[a] Trevern, Micaiah Towgood on Dissent, 10. 108. 126.

with an oath to that effect; and also for establishing the English ritual.[b] But these acts were merely confirmatory of the laws and institutions made by the church of England during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., which had been indeed disobeyed by the papal party in the reign of Mary, and annulled by the civil power, but which had never been annulled by any legitimate authority of the church. These acts were simply revivals of laws which had been formerly made with the concurrence of the church of England; and they only gave the temporal sanction to institutions which had always remained in their full spiritual force and obligation. Further, I deny that the bishops then occupying sees in England were legitimate bishops, as will be presently shown. Therefore it was needless to solicit their sanction of these acts, or to regard their opposition. The lower house of convocation, too, consisted generally of men who were of the same faction, and who had been active in all the irregular proceedings of the last reign, besides being intruded into the benefices of others; so that their petition to the bishops, in favour of the Roman supremacy, &c. deserved no attention.

II. Those bishops who were expelled from the English sees, by royal commissions, in consequence of their refusal to acknowledge the regal supremacy, and to relinquish the papal jurisdiction, had obtained those sees in an irregular and schismatical manner, by means of an authority annulled and prohibited by the church of England, according to the canons. Of these bishops of the popish party, the following had been appointed to their sees by papal provisions or bulls, which were unlawful and null in the church of England: Watson of Lincoln, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, Pool of Peterborough, Pates of Worcester, Goldwell of St. Asaph.[c] The following had not only taken their sees merely by papal authority, but had intruded into them while those sees were not vacant, that is during the lifetime of their legitimate pastors: Heath of York,

[b] Burnet, ii. 692. [c] Burnet, iii. 455. Rymer Fœdera, tom. xv.

White of Winchester, Turberville of Exeter, Scott of Chester.[d] Bourne of Bath had intruded into the place of Bishop Barlow, who had been forced by intimidation to resign. Thus ten bishops of those expelled by Elizabeth, had been schismatically and invalidly appointed to the sees they occupied; and, of the remaining four, Boner and Thirlby had been guilty of serious offences, as well in attempting to introduce the papal jurisdiction, and in violating the laws and institutions of the church of England, as in presiding in the character of papal delegates at the unjust degradation and murder of their own metropolitan and primate; and in many other acts of cruelty. If one or two were removed from their sees apparently without sufficient canonical reason, so comparatively small an irregularity cannot affect the character of the proceedings in general, and Tunstall died before his see was filled up by a new consecration.

III. We are to consider the appointments of the new bishops at this time. The metropolitan chair of Canterbury, and twelve other bishopries were vacant by death, before any of them were filled by fresh ordinations;[e] eleven other sees were vacant by the legitimate expulsion of those who had usurped them.[f] Therefore the new appointments of bishops took place in the ordinary and regular manner.

According to the canons all bishops should be consecrated by their metropolitan, and the synod of com-provincial bishops, or at least by three of them;[g] but at this time, in consequence of the usurpations and intrusions of the papal faction, there was not a sufficient number of bishops in England actually and legitimately in possession of sees, to perform the ordination.

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[d] Ibid.

[e] Canterbury, Durham, Salisbury, Norwich, Hereford, Chichester, Rochester, Oxford, Gloucester, Bristol, Bangor, St. David's, Man.

[f] York, Bath, Lichfield, Winchester, Lincoln, Carlisle, Exeter, Peterborough, Chester, Worcester, St. Asaph.

[g] Nicene Synod, can. 4; Antioch. can. 19. 23; African code, can. 13. 49; ii. Orleans, can. 7; iv. Toledo, c. 18; Bingham's Antiq. b. ii .c. 16, s. 15; De Marca. Concord. Sacerd. et Imp. lib. iv. c. 4.

It was a time of great difficulty (the church of England having been deprived of so many of her legitimate bishops), and therefore the consecration of Archbishop Parker was performed by four of the bishops who had been expelled and driven into exile by the papal faction in the last reign, and who had not yet been restored to the actual possession of their sees and benefices, but two of whom, at least (viz. Barlow and Coverdale), were still legitimately bishops of the province of Canterbury ;[h] while Scory, lately bishop of Chichester, ejected by the temporal authority of Queen Mary, as having been invested with that see *dubio jure*, and Hodgkins, suffragan bishop of Bedford, were both at least canonically vacant, and competent to afford their aid in the necessity of the church of England.[i] Thus there was no essential informality in the case, because two of the ordaining bishops were still, *de jure*, bishops possessing jurisdiction in the province of Canterbury, and this entitled them, under the circumstances, to call in the assistance of the other bishops to fill up the canonical number. Pelagius, bishop of Rome, was, under circumstances of less difficulty, ordained by two bishops of his province.[k]

It appears then, that the reformation in Elizabeth's reign was not effected by mere temporal authority, in opposition to the laws, ordinances, and authority of the spiritual power. The

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[h] Barlow having been forced to relinquish his see of Bath, by threats and intimidation, and Coverdale expelled from the see of Exeter by the civil power, which restored Voysey, who had freely resigned it.

[i] Bishops who are without actual jurisdiction over any see, in consequence of any cause which does not arise from their own misconduct, may exercise episcopal functions when permitted by other bishops. This is the rule of the synod of Antioch, can. 18. Apost. can. 36. See also Balsamon and Zonaras on the 18th canon of Antioch. Thomassin, Eccl. Discip. p. i. l. i. c. 27, 28, details the origin and office of titular bishops, who, without any real see, officiate in the Roman churches, under the direction of others, and even assist in consecrating bishops. See also Benedict XIV. de Synodo Diœcesana. l. ii. c. 7

[k] Fleury, Hist. Eccl. liv. 33, n. 55.

acts of parliament, the expulsion of some bishops, the ordination of others, were all justifiable and even laudable on catholic principles. The Queen's Injunctions at the beginning of her reign, were like the edicts of Justinian, Charlemagne, and their successors, only confirmatory of the rights, customs, and canons of the church, previously made or confirmed by spiritual authority.

IV. Bossuet in vain endeavours to prove that notwithstanding the denial in the Article that "we give to our prince the ministering of God's word or of the sacraments," which seems to reduce the royal authority to a mere exterior direction and execution, the contrary appeared in practice.[l] "The queen," he says, "gave license to preach." (If so, we may suppose it was with the advice and permission of her prelates; but at all events *we* are not responsible for every act of sovereign power.) She "made bishops with the same authority as the king her father, and the king her brother, and for a limited time if she pleased." (The former was justifiable by the universal practice of Christian emperors and kings.[m] The latter power she did not exercise in fact, and it was obsolete: besides the church did not intend to admit any such power.) "The commission to consecrate them emanated from the royal power." (The kings of France formerly issued similar injunctions to their bishops.[n]) "Excommunications were decreed by the same authority." (The queen herself never issued excommunications, but the court of delegates, or the high commission court, which consisted of bishops. Besides, the king of Sicily, in his "Tribunal of the Monarchy," absolves and excommunicates.) "The queen by her edicts regulated not only external worship, but faith and doctrine, or caused it to be regulated by her parliament, whose acts derived their authority from her." (These edicts were only like those of other Christian princes, confir-

[l] Bossuet, Variat. l. x. n. 14, 15.

[m] Thomassin. Eccl. Discip. p. i. l. ii. c. 19; p. ii. l. ii. c. 34.

[n] Thomassin. p. ii. l. ii. c. 34. s. 8.

matory of the faith and discipline approved by spiritual authority.) In fine, the parliament pretended to prescribe rules for the judgment of heresy, namely, that nothing should be accounted such, except what was contrary to Scripture, the four first councils, &c. or should be decided by parliament with the advice of the clergy in their convocation. (This related to the *legal* description of heresy, which was a crime by law, and liable to be punished by burning, until the 29th year of Charles II. It was only fit that parliament should exercise some control over the application of so terrible a punishment, and see that the clergy should not exceed the limits of their jurisdiction in defining new heresies. In Austria no one can even be excommunicated without the previous judgment of the civil powers.)[o]

Queen Elizabeth at all events never went so far as some sovereigns of the Roman communion, who have prohibited bishops from conferring orders, obliged them to take out the royal license to hold ordinations, prescribed the most minute points of public service, silenced preachers, suppressed sees, supported heresy against the church, compelled bishops to swear obedience to all their decrees in religion, future as well as past, obliged the clergy to read the bulletins of their armies in the churches, compelled bishops to submit their pastoral letters to the police, and instituted lay metropolitans called ministers of worship.[p]

V. If it be said that the Articles themselves declare, that "if any man, through his private judgment, openly breaks the ceremonies of the church which be ordained by *common* authority, he shall be openly rebuked as one that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the *magistrate*,"[q] and therefore that the civil magistrate is acknowledged to have authority in such matters, and may alter the worship of the church as he pleases[r]—I reply that the *common*

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[o] Rechberger, Enchir. Jur. Eccl. Austr. s. 259.

[p] See Part I. Chapter X. Append. I. II. III. [q] Article XXXIV.

[r] Towgood on Dissent, p. 10.

authority spoken of, means the authority of *church* as well as state, and the latter is only confirmatory of the former, or at least only temporal; and cannot effect alterations contrary to the will of the church, so as to have any obligation *in foro conscientiæ*.

VI. In fine, the convocation of the clergy in the reign of Elizabeth completed the reformation of the church of England. In 1562, they compiled and authorized the XXXIX. Articles of Christian doctrine, which were published and confirmed legally by the supreme temporal authority. In 1571, and 1603, they enacted canons in their convocations, which were confirmed by Elizabeth and James I. Thus the ritual, Articles, and discipline of the church of England do not rest merely on temporal authority, but on the original sanction and subsequent practice and custom of the catholic churches of these realms.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

HAVING examined the mode of reformation in these churches, and the authority by which it was effected, we are now to enter on a most important question :—the principles of the English reformation. These principles have been so often misrepresented by the opponents of our catholic apostolic churches, that it becomes a matter of necessity to clear them from the imputation of schism, heresy, and anarchy, by the weight of facts.

It has been already shown that one leading principle of that reformation, namely the authority of provincial or national churches to correct doctrine and discipline without the necessity of waiting for the formal judgment of the Roman pontiff, or of the universal church, is free from all imputation of schism or heresy.[a]

But we are assured that the main, essential principle of the Reformation was the liberty of interpreting Scripture according to our private fancies, in opposition to the doctrine and the judgments of the catholic church of Christ in all ages.

I believe that not one of those who brought about the Reformation ever ventured to maintain such a principle ; and although some individuals may have spoken incautiously on the subject of catholic doctrine, when they were pressed with erroneous positions, deduced from spurious writings, which an imperfect criticism prevented them from promptly rejecting ; the testimony of a universal consent of Christians, was generally respected by those who were favourable to reformation.

In England the supremacy and sufficiency of Scripture was most rightly maintained, not against a catholic tradition teaching the *same doctrines as Scripture itself*, and therefore

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[a] See Chapter II.

strictly confirmatory of Scripture; but against a tradition imagined to convey articles of faith *in addition* to those which Scripture contained. The title of Dr. Smythe's book "De veritatibus *non scriptis*," intimates the principle of the papal party. The Romish controversialists of that age founded some of their articles of faith on unwritten tradition merely: against them it was maintained that for every article of faith there ought to be scriptural proof; but it was never supposed that particular churches were at liberty to affix whatever meaning they pleased to Scripture, contrary to the doctrine of the catholic church in all ages: still less was it imagined, that private individuals might lawfully hold whatever doctrines they should themselves devise, without paying reverence to the authority of that branch of the church in which they should abide, and entire obedience to that of the church universal in all ages.

I proceed to prove that the catholic and primitive doctrine, and the authority of the church of Christ, as opposed to modern abuses, and to the license of an unbridled private judgment, were the principles of the English Reformation.

The abolition of the papal jurisdiction, it will be allowed, was a considerable act of reformation: but we find from history that those who supported that measure, argued not only from Scripture, but from the doctrine and practice of the primitive church, the œcumenical councils, the invalidity of later councils called general, the doctrine of the fathers, the customs of the church of England, and of other churches in modern times.[b] Of these arguments we find a good specimen in bishop Tunstall's letter to cardinal Pole.[c]

The recognition of the royal supremacy was no inconsiderable proceeding of the reformation. We find that it was argued for, not only from Scripture, but from the doctrine of the fathers, and the exercise of such a power in the church formerly, and the customs and laws of the realm of England.[d] Communion

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[b] Burnet, i. 250—257. [c] Ibid. iii. Records, 52. [d] Ibid. i. 257—261.

in both kinds was received, not only as being more agreeable to Christ's first institution, but to "the practice of the church for five hundred years after Christ."[e] The question of the divorce of the marquis of Northampton was judged, not only from the authority of Scripture, but on "the authorities of the fathers" and councils of the church.[f] In the public disputations on the eucharist at Oxford, A. D. 1549, before Ridley and the king's commissioners, the argument of those opposed to the Romish doctrine, was derived from the ancient fathers as well as from Scripture.[g]

The "Necessary Doctrine," &c. agreed on by the whole church of England in 1543, says: "All those things which were taught by the apostles, and have been by a whole universal consent of the church of Christ ever sith that time taught continually, and taken always for true, ought to be received, accepted, and kept, as a perfect doctrine apostolic."[h] It declares that all Christians must take the articles of the creed, "and interpretate all the same things, according to the self-same sentence and interpretation which the words of Scripture do signify, and the holy approved doctors of the church do agreeably entreat and defend;" and that they must refuse and condemn all opinions, "which were of long time past condemned in the four holy councils."[i]

Cranmer evidently acknowledged the authority of catholic tradition. On what other ground could he have made those voluminous collections of extracts from the fathers, the councils, the schoolmen, and the canonists, of which we read? In his speech on general councils, A.D. 1534 or 1535, he said, "that when all the fathers agreed in the exposition of any place of Scripture, he acknowledged he looked on that as flowing from the Spirit of God; and it was a most dangerous thing to be wise in our own conceits."[k] We see another example of his

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[e] Ibid. ii. 76, 77. [f] Ibid. ii. 104—108. [g] Ibid. ii. 198—204.
[h] Formularies of Faith, p. 221. [i] Ibid. p. 227.
[k] Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 14. by Jenkins.

veneration for the tradition of the church, in his papers on justification, where are many passages from the fathers and schoolmen down to the time of Aquinas and Bonaventure.[l] His epistle to Joachim Vadianus says, with reference to certain writings of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius: "so far as they have endeavoured to point out and correct papistical and sophistical errors, I praise and approve them. And would that they had contained themselves within those bounds, and had not trampled on the fruit as well as the tares, that is, violated at the same time the authority of the ancient doctors, and earliest writers in the church of Christ."[m] When Ridley had been induced by the perusal of the ancient writer Bertram on the eucharist, to change his opinion, Cranmer being shaken by him, re-examined the doctrine of the fathers with the greatest care,[n] and in his work on the eucharist, he refers continually to them in confirmation of his opinions: he advances nothing without adducing their testimony (not always indeed well understood). In his preface to the Bible, A.D. 1540, he uses, as he says, "the authority of St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. John Chrysostom" in proof of the use of reading the Bible, and in admonition to the readers.[o] Even in his epistle to queen Mary (September, 1555), stating the reasons by which he had maintained his doctrine of the eucharist in his examination by Brooks, he says, "Herein I said I would be judged by the old church, and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto."[p] And that his respect for the doctrine of the catholic church was not limited merely to the primitive church, appears from his appeal to a general council. "I intend to speak nothing against one, holy, catholic and apos-

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l Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 121, &c. Soames, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 526.

m Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 195.

n Le Bas, Life of Cranmer, vol. i. p. 315.

o Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 113.

p Ibid. vol. i. p. 380.

tolic church, or the authority thereof, the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey."[q] "I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ." "In this thing, I only am accused for an heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament; and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient fathers."[r]

Bishop Ridley reverenced equally the testimony of catholic tradition. He protested that he did not dispute the doctrine of the "real presence founded in the word of God, and illustrated by the commentaries of the orthodox fathers."[s] Bishop Poynet in his treatise on the eucharist appeals to the tradition of the church universal.[t] Mr. Philpot, when imprisoned by the Romish faction in the reign of queen Mary, wrote thus to a fellow-prisoner: "Let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church, for the better understanding of our faith and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any man's private interpretation of the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had. . . . Let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day."[u] Bradford says: "This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church, will I not forsake,"[v] &c. Bishop Jewel says: "We

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q Ibid. vol. iv. p. 121.

r Ibid. p. 127. The Treatise on unwritten Verities which has been attributed to Cranmer, and which speaks less respectfully of the doctrine of the fathers, was not written by him.—See Jenkyns's Cranmer, vol. i. p. lv.

s Ridlæi Protestatio, Enchirid. Theolog. p. 53.

t Poynet, Diallacticon.

u See the letter cited in the British Magazine for 1836, p. 50.

v Martyrs' Letters, p. 265. 270. cited by Mr. Churton.

are come as near as we possibly could to the church of the apostles, and of the old catholic bishops and fathers; and have directed, according to their customs and ordinances, not only our doctrine, but also the sacraments, and the form of common prayer."[w]

In accordance with these principles the preface of the reformed ritual, composed A.D. 1548, refers us to "the ancient fathers" for the original of divine service, and declares that what is now set forth is "much agreeable to the mind and purpose of the old fathers."[x] In the preface to the ordinal composed A.D. 1552, the three orders of the sacred ministry are continued, on account of its appearing from "Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles' time there have been those three orders of ministers in Christ's church." The homilies, composed in 1547 and 1562, continually refer to the authority of the fathers in confirmation of the true doctrine:[y] and the convocation of the clergy of England in 1571 again solemnly recognized the authority of catholic tradition, in their canon concerning preachers. "Let preachers above all things be careful that they never teach aught in a sermon, to be religiously held and believed by the people, except that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament; and which the catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected from that very doctrine."

Thus the authority of catholic tradition was recognized by the church of England and by all our learned theologians. It would take up too much space to cite the concurrent testimonies of Taylor, Nowell, Hooker, Bancroft, Bilson, Overall, Morton, Field, White, Hall, Laud, Montague, Jackson, Mede, Usher, Bramhall, Sanderson, Cosin, Hammond, Thorndike, Jeremy Taylor, Heylin, Pearson, Barrow, Bull, Stillingfleet, Ken,

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[w] Jewel, Apologia, p. 156. ed. 1606.

[x] Preface to Book of C. P.

[y] See Sermon concerning Prayer, part ii. Place and time of Prayer, ad fin.; Hom. on Com. Prayer and Sacraments; Serm. on Alms-deeds, &c.

Beveridge, Patrick, Sharp, Leslie, Potter, and others innumerable of our primates, bishops, doctors, and theologians, who have all maintained the authority of catholic tradition.[z] So great is the reverence which we have always paid to that tradition, that it has been remarked and judged excessive by some of the Lutheran and Calvinistic societies. The Lutheran Walchius says: "To those who attribute too much to the fathers of the church, the episcopalians or hierarchicals as they are called, in England, have united themselves; amongst whom the authority of the fathers is very great, since they persuade themselves that they find in their writings a great support for their notion concerning the divine origin of the episcopate, and concerning the retention of the rites and discipline of the ancient church. For this reason amongst others, they abhor the work of Daillé on the use of the fathers, because they believe that he has too much detracted from their authority. Beveridge avows this."[a]

It is evident then that the authority of catholic tradition and of the universal church, as opposed to the unlimited freedom of private inventions, was continually recognized in the church of England during the whole reformation, and always afterwards. Indeed so little was thought of the right of individuals to hold their own inventions and dogmas in those days, that we find even corporal severities exercised by those who promoted the reformation, against those who held heretical doctrines. Thus in 1549 Cranmer and Ridley were on the commission which condemned Joan of Kent for heresy, and the archbishop himself obtained the signature of king Edward VI. to the warrant for her burning, at which bishop Scory preach-

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[z] See the Appendix to bishop Jebb's Sermons; the Rev. E. Churton's valuable Sermon, "The Church of England a witness and keeper of the Catholic tradition," Appendix A.; Rev. J. F. Russel's Judgment of the Anglican Church; and the publication entitled "Tracts for the Times," No. 78; for the sentiments of all the theologians mentioned above.

[a] Walchii Bibliotheca Patristica, cap. xv. s. 9.

ed the sermon.[b] Van Pare, a Dutch heretic, was condemned in like manner, A.D. 1551 ; and in the time of queen Elizabeth, bishop Jewell in his Apology declares that "we not only condemn the old heretics, as Arians, Eutychians, Marcionites, &c., and pronounce them impious and lost, and detest them to the gates of hell, but even if they anywhere break forth and show themselves, we restrain them severely and seriously with lawful and civil punishments."[c] In fact the writ "de Hæretico comburendo" was in force till the twenty-ninth year of Charles II., and not unfrequently acted upon. Of course I do not approve the principle of persecution here laid down by Jewell, but it is an absolute demonstration that the principle of the liberty of private judgment to oppose the true doctrine of Scripture confirmed by catholic testimony, was not the principle of those times.

The doctrine then maintained was THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH : "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and AUTHORITY IN CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH." (Art. XX. A. D. 1562.) And accordingly it is afterwards said : "Whosoever, through his *private judgment*, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly," &c. ;[d] the church herself, of course, being the judge of this repugnance.[e] Even the parliaments which established the Reformation, acknowledged the authority of tradition, and of the catholic church. The act (1547) appointing communion in both kinds, and the people to receive it with the

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[b] Le Bas, Cranmer, vol. i. p. 334. Burnet, vol. ii.

[c] Juelli Apolog. p. 5.

[d] Article XXXIV.

[e] Towgood the dissenter says : "Of this repugnance and contrariety, the church alone, you will observe, and not every private person, is allowed to be the proper judge, for otherwise the Article is absurd : it actually overthrows itself, and takes away with one hand what it gives with the other."—On Dissent, p. 6, 7.

priest, went on the ground of "the practice of the church for five hundred years after Christ," and "the primitive practice."[f] The Act for the Royal Supremacy (1559) declared, that such persons as should be commissioned by the queen to reform and order ecclesiastical matters, should judge nothing to be heresy, but what had been already so judged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or by any other general council in which such doctrines were declared to be heresies by the express and plain words of Scripture. All other points, not so decided, were to be judged by the parliament, with the assent of the clergy in their convocation.[g]

It is strange that in opposition to the weight of such facts, the principle of the Reformation should be assumed to be that of the right of individuals to oppose their own judgments to the true doctrine of Scripture, taught by the tradition of the universal church in all ages. I know not what answer can be made to the above facts, except that the principle of the Reformation *ought* to have been this, and that it is indefensible on any other: but we are satisfied with the principle of the English Reformation as it actually was, because we believe it was orthodox, and consistent with common sense, and accordingly always and in all places received by Christians; and as for the defence of the Reformation, we are content to undertake it without the aid of the principle which later ages have attempted to create for it.

The principle of reverence for catholic tradition, as maintained by the church of England, was a principle calculated not merely for the maintenance of Christian truths always received, but it was essentially a corrective and reforming principle; for it taught the church to look beyond the limits of existing practices and opinions into the mind of all ages, and to take the belief of the universal church in most holy union with Scripture, as the

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[f] Act 1. Edw. VI. c. 1.

[g] Act 1. Eliz. c. 1.

rule by which she might be enabled to give due importance to matters essential, and to correct abuses and innovations inconsistent with the apostolic truth. And it was a principle fraught with practical wisdom, because it placed before her the experience and examples of fifteen hundred years, to guide and admonish her in her proceedings.

There may be one other answer made to this :—that the church of England herself did not understand the true principles of the Reformation ; that we must look for those principles amongst the Lutherans or Calvinists. But I have already shown that they also were abundant in their acknowledgments of the authority of the catholic church, and of general and national synods in matters of faith ; that they shrank from the imputation of setting up their private opinions against the authority of the catholic church ; that they never designed or wished to separate themselves from the existing Roman churches ; that the Reformation in itself was, in a great degree, brought about without a previous design on their parts ; that they were ready to alter their systems much, if the Roman church would have made some concessions and re-admitted them to her communion.[h] There are facts enough to prove all this, and to show that our churches do not stand alone in recognizing the authority of catholic tradition. Therefore there is error in both the assertions on which Blackburn founds his attack upon the Articles of the church of England ; viz. that "the protestants withdrew from the communion of the church of Rome," and that the principle on which they did so, was the right of an unbounded liberty (so called) of private judgment, and the rejection of all church authority.[i] Indeed Blackburn himself is compelled, by the force of truth, to acknowledge that the *reformers themselves* afterwards "took their interpretations of Scripture," and "formed their rule of faith and doctrine" on "the sense of the orthodox fathers ;"[k] that "in those days no-

[h] Part I. Chapter XII.

[i] Blackburn's Confessional, p. 1, 2.

[k] Ibid. p. 3.

thing was thought to be sufficiently confirmed by Scripture testimonies, without additional vouchers from the ancient worthies of the church;"[l] that "in process of time some particular persons *began* to see into this mistake," and Cartwright, (the Puritan) "in his dispute with Archbishop Whitgift, about the year 1573, took the courage to *appeal* from the authority of the fathers;" that his sentiments were regarded "as so much blasphemy;" that when Erasmus Johannes, a schoolmaster at Antwerp, a few years afterwards assailed the fathers and councils, "the times were not ripe for the *toleration* of these sentiments," and he was "obliged to fly his country!"[m] These facts, admitted as they are by a despiser and an enemy of catholic tradition, are of the highest value: they show what the *general* sentiment of the Reformation was, and they render it utterly incredible that it could have been originally founded in the contradictory principle; because if it had been so, how could all have concurred immediately afterwards in adopting the principle of obedience to the doctrine of the catholic church?

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[l] P. 20.

[m] P. 21, 22.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE VARIATIONS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

The regulations made by our catholic apostolical churches concerning doctrine and discipline during the sixteenth century, have been maliciously traduced by our opponents, as affording evidence of heretical variations and inconsistencies. The mere circumstance of a church's altering her doctrine or discipline in some point affords no presumption of heresy. The African churches, in the time of Cyprian, maintained the invalidity of heretical baptism. In the time of Augustine they decreed the contrary. The Western churches practised communion in both kinds till the thirteenth century: the Synod of Constance confirmed the opposite practice. The Western churches, in the ninth century condemned the worship of images; yet afterwards many of them permitted the custom. For a long time they acknowledged the Roman pontiffs to have temporal authority over princes; yet this doctrine was afterwards rejected by the Gallican and other churches. The churches of Spain hold the immaculate conception of the Virgin as a matter of faith; yet it will hardly be contended, that they might not maintain the contrary doctrine. In France the superiority of a general synod to a pope was held *de fide*, yet it is so no longer.

The variation then, so justly assigned as a note of heresy by Tertullian, Hilary, and other fathers, does not relate to the mere correction of prevalent errors and abuses by competent authority; but to the fluctuation, contradictions, and uncertainty of sects who separate from the church. Variation in this sense, or as implying inconsistency, or sanction of what is admitted to be heresy or dangerous error, affords a legitimate presumption of unsoundness.

But of such variations there is no evidence in the Reformation of the church of England, which proceeded gradually, consistently, and lawfully, in the correction of modern, though prevalent errors and abuses.

I. The Reformation of the church of England, during the reign of Henry VIII. is represented uniformly by Bossuet, and our other opponents of all "denominations," as limited entirely to the rejection of the Papal supremacy.[a] With this single exception, according to them, the system previously existing was received and authorized in all points. Now, it will appear on examination, that the corrections in the reign of Henry, were very little inferior in importance to those made in Edward's reign.

Besides the rejection of the papal supremacy of jurisdiction in the convocation of 1534,[b] the doctrine of purgatory was disclaimed by authority of the church in 1537[c] and 1543[d] (she being well aware that the council of Florence, on which it rests, is of no binding force[e]). Indulgences were rejected by the same authority,[f] together with all kneeling, bowing, and offering to images;[g] and all worship *before* them was to be directed not to the image itself, not even to the saint represented, but to God only.[h] The principle and practice was established by the royal Injunctions received by the church, of *removing* all images *abused* by pilgrimages and other special honours.[i] The prac-

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[a] Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. 24—28. 37.

[b] Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. and iii.

[c] Institut. of a Christian Man, Formularies of Faith, p. 211. Oxford ed.

[d] Necessary Doctrine and Erudition, ibid. p. 376.

[e] Ibid. p. 285.

[f] Formularies of Faith, p. 211. 376.

[g] Articles about Religion, 1536. Formul. of Faith, p. xxviii. Institution of a Christ. Man, p. 134, 135. 137. Injunctions of Archbishop Lee, Burnet, iii. Records, 57. Injunct. Bp. Sarum, ibid. Rec. 59.

[h] Articles, 1536, p. xxviii. Necessary Doctrine, p. 300.

[i] Injunctions of the King's Vicegerent. Burnet, Hist. Ref. vol. i. Records, p. 276. Injunctions of Archbishop Lee, Bur. iii. Rec. 57. All such

tice of praying to saints for any gifts was prohibited by the church,[k] and though their invocation was still permitted under certain limitations intended to divest it of its most injurious tendency, it was discouraged in the public service.[l] The superstitious use of relics was also discouraged,[m] and the church prohibited several other abuses, such as using gospels for charms, drinking holy water for the cure of diseases,[n] &c. These were very important reforms; and though some customs were retained

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special honours are prohibited by the Institution of a Christian Man, p. 137. Milner, a noted papist, thus involuntarily justifies us for removing images: "The learned Petavius says, 'We must lay it down as a principle, that images are to be reckoned among the adiaphora, which do not belong to the substance of religion, and which the church may retain or take away as she judges best.'—L. xv. de Incar. Hence Dr. Hawarden, of Images, p. 353, teaches, with Delphinus, that if, in any place, there is danger of real idolatry or superstition from pictures, they ought to be removed by the pastor, as St. Epiphanius destroyed a certain pious picture, and as Ezechias destroyed the brazen serpent."—End of Controv. Let. 34. Now, that there were in fact great abuses and even idolatry in the use of images before and after the Reformation is admitted by Cassander and other Roman writers. —See Laud, Conference, sect. 33, n. 13. Bossuet himself admits, that the ignorant are in danger of falling into idolatry by using images: "What might be feared for the ignorant is, that they should believe the divine nature capable of being represented, or rendered present in the images; or regard them as filled with some virtue, for which they are honoured: these are the three characters of *idolatry*. It is not allowable to attribute more virtue to one image than to another; nor, consequently, to frequent one more than another, except in memory of some miracle or pious history, which may excite devotion."—Boss. Variat. l. xv. sect. 156. The Synod of Trent, as Bossuet says, endeavoured to guard against these idolatries and superstitions; but it is well known that the same practices still remain, and they will continue until the example of our catholic churches is followed. The Emperor Joseph II. issued a decree for the removal of images. See above, p. 308.

[k] Institution, p. 141.

[l] Injunctions of the Vicegerent, Burnet, ibid. p. 279.

[m] Injunc. of Vicegerent, Bur. i. Rec. p. 219. 276. Injunctions Bp. Sarum, Burnet, iii. Rec. p. 195.

[n] Institution of a Christ. Man, p. 133. Necessary Doctrine, p. 293.

for a time, under a hope that they might be divested of abuse, the principles developed in attempting their correction, led naturally to their ultimate removal, when experience had proved them to be incorrigible. It is therefore a great misrepresentation to affirm that the papal supremacy alone, was rejected and suppressed by the church of England in the reign of Henry VIII.

II. It is asserted that our churches having steadfastly adhered to the whole Romish doctrine in the reign of Henry VIII. relinquished it immediately after the accession of Edward VI. and became Zuinglian, rejecting especially the catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. This assertion arises from an erroneous view of facts, and from not distinguishing the opinions of individual theologians from the public and authorized doctrine of the church of England.

It is a fact, that *no new formulary of doctrine whatever* was published by authority of the church during the whole reign of Edward VI. The forty-two articles of religion compiled (it is supposed) by Cranmer, Ridley, and others, in 1552, were never authorized by convocation,[o] though the royal council most unjustifiably published them as so approved, for which Archbishop Cranmer remonstrated with them in vain:[p] nor were they ever at any time received as a formulary of the church of England, having been put forth by the king but a few days before his death in 1553, and only subscribed by a few clergy in Canterbury, Norwich, and London, and in the University of Cambridge, who were solicited, but not compelled to subscribe by the bishops Cranmer and Ridley.[q] From this time we hear no more of them as of any authority. That no new doctrine was established in the church of England during this reign appears from Burnet, who observes with reference to the above articles: "It seemed to be a great want, that this was so long delayed,

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[o] Burnet, p. 362, 363.

[p] Cranmer's Works, by Jenkyns, iv. p. 64, 65. Burnet, ibid.

[q] Burnet, iii. 365—367.

since the old doctrine had still the legal authority on its side;[r] yet these articles, as we have seen, were never actually in force.

It seems plain indeed, that during the whole reign of Edward VI. the doctrine of the church of England was most authentically represented by the formulary of instruction formally approved by the convocation in the reign of Henry VIII. A. D. 1543,[s] entitled "The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition," a book which was, most assuredly, quite opposed to the Zuinglian doctrines. This book was of authority in the church of England during the remainder of King Henry's reign. In 1546, Archbishop Cranmer, in writing to the king concerning the abolition of certain ceremonies, recognizes it as of authority in the church.[t] The first book of our Homilies, published in 1547 (the first year of Edward VI.), chiefly relates to Christian morals, but it terms matrimony a *sacrament;*[u] (indeed the second book of Homilies speaks of ordination and "*other sacraments*,"[v] *besides* baptism and the Eucharist); and at the end of this book of Homilies we read of "the due receiving of Christ's body and blood under the form of bread and wine." This is all very consistent with the Necessary Doctrine, but it is not Zuinglian. Immediately after the publication of the Homilies, Gardiner objected to the doctrine of Justification there laid down, as inconsistent with that of the Necessary Doctrine, assuming the latter to be of authority still.[w] Again, in 1551, in arguing against the opinions

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[r] Burnet, iii. 361.

[s] Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ, tom. iii. p. 868.

[t] Cranmer's Works, i. p. 322.

[u] "By like holy promise, the *sacrament of matrimony* knitteth man and wife in perpetual love."—Sermon on Swearing, part i.

[v] "Though the ordering of ministers hath this visible sign or promise, yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, *as all other sacraments* besides the two above-named do. Therefore neither it, *nor any other sacrament else*, be such sacraments as baptism and the communion are."—On Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i.

Burnet, ii. p. 67. Le Bas, Cranmer, i. 285.

of Cranmer on the Eucharist, he appealed to the doctrine confessed by the whole clergy of England in an open council, and "never hitherto by any public council or any thing set forth by authority impaired."[x] Nor could any effectual answer be made to this; and, accordingly, not only does Cranmer disclaim the notion that Gardiner had been brought to trial for his doctrine on the Eucharist,[y] but none of the bishops of the popish party who were expelled from their sees in Edward's reign, were deprived on pretence of their holding doctrines contrary to those of the church, but for disobedience to the royal council, or for treason.

Thus it appears that the authorized doctrine of the church of England, during the whole of Edward the Sixth's reign, was that of the real presence, in the strongest and most decided sense.[z] It is true that there were considerable discussions and controversies concerning the mode of the presence, between Cranmer, Ridley, Poynet, &c. on the one side, and Gardiner, Tunstall, and Smythe on the other; and therefore it may be concluded, that at that time the *mode* of the presence was held undecided by the church of England, as in fact she had avoided

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[x] Cranmer's Works, by Jenkyns, vol. i. p. xlviii; vol. iii. p. 363.

[y] Cranmer's Works, vol. iii. p. 36. Le Bas' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 40, 41.

[z] ["The broken bread and blessed wyne be institute purposely to resolve and ascertayn our senses that we *as materially and truly* though not grossely or sensyblie but ghostly *receave and eate Christes body and drinke his bloud* as we do the foresayd."—"Albeit the consecrate bread is named Christ's body, yet is it not the sayde body ne chaunged into the same, but so called in consyderacion *therwyth the sayd body is* both sygnifyed, *presented*, and exhibited."—"Notwythstandinge *Christes body be presented in the bred* (*as questionles it is*) not placely, as ther placed, spaced, and mesured, but ghostly, as ther unplaced, unspaced, and not measured; howbeit, it is not enbreaded [impanated] no more then the deytie is recompted enfleshed, *for that it is substancially* in us." A Treatise againste the Prevee Masse, &c. by Edmund Gest. [a principal agent in the compilation of the Liturgy, as the deputy of Archbishop Parker; afterward bishop of Rochester, and suceessor of Jewel in the see of Sarum;] MDXLVIII. (Life and Character of Edmund Geste, &c., 8vo. London, 1840. Appendix I.) p. 81. 84. 86.

the term Transubstantiation in the Necessary Doctrine, and while a change of substance was there strongly asserted, this might be understood in several senses,[a] though I admit that transubstantiation is the more natural meaning. The real presence, however, was then professed by all parties. I need not speak of Gardiner and Smythe, who went into the extremes of the Romish opinions; but it was not confined to them. Dr. Oglethorpe, in his submission and profession of faith, A. D. 1550 (having been accused of being opposed to the service-book and the king's proceedings), was permitted to declare, that while he rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, he held "that there is a certain, and an ineffable presence of Christ's body there, which I can neither comprehend nor express," &c.[b] Bishop Ridley protested, that in opposing the doctrine of the corporal presence, he did not mean "to remove that real presence of Christ's body in his supper, duly and lawfully administered, which is founded in the word of God, and illustrated by the commentaries of the orthodox fathers."[c] Bishop Poynet maintained the doctrine of the real presence in his book on the Eucharist, in a very decided manner.[d] Bucer and Melancthon, whom Cranmer invited to England, had always maintained the real presence, as even Gardiner admits.[e]

I shall not attempt to defend all the doctrine of Cranmer, in his Treatise on the Sacrament, A. D. 1550, and his Answer to Gardiner next year, which in fact (though he seems not to have been aware of it) amounted to a denial of the real presence, and is very different from that of Ridley and Poynet, from the

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[a] *E. g.* not a physical, but a spiritual or sacramental change, or a change by union with the Divinity, or with the humanity of Christ. Various explanations might be given, which would not infer transubstantiation, or the total cessation of the substance of bread.

[b] Burnet, vol. ii. Rec. p. 290.

[c] Ridlæi Protestatio, Enchirid. Theologicum, p 53.

[d] See Poynet's Diallacticon.

[e] Cranmer's Works, vol. iii. p. 54, 55. 167.

Necessary Doctrine, the Homilies, and the Prayer-book composed in 1548. His belief in the corporal presence had been unsettled by Ridley, at the end of Henry's reign; but Peter Martyr and Alasco, who were in his house for some time, appear, in their conferences on the matter, to have exercised an unhappy influence on his too flexible mind.[f] In his controversy with Gardiner, he assailed indeed successfully the common errors and superstitions on the Eucharist; but his own positive opinions were not in all points orthodox. However, it seems that he was misled, not by any vain confidence in his own private opinion in opposition to the catholic church, but by certain passages from the fathers which he did not rightly understand; and that he deemed his opinion sincerely to be supported by apostolical tradition. That he did not obstinately adhere to it we may reasonably trust from his appeal to a general council, in which he protests that he did not design to maintain his private opinion against the catholic church, "to which," he adds, "my mind is in all things to obey."[g]

The church of England, however, was not in the slightest degree committed to the particular opinions of archbishop Cranmer on this point. In this controversy he wrote merely as a private theologian, and not *ex cathedra*, with episcopal authority; and I contend that we have fully as much right to say that the opinions of Gardiner, Tunstall, and Smythe, were approved by the church of England, as that Cranmer's were. They were just as much in communion with the church as Cranmer himself, and the latter even expressly disclaims the notion of Gardiner's having been deposed for his doctrines of transubstantiation. Therefore these books of Cranmer are not to be confounded with the public and authorized doctrine of the church of England.

The declaration on kneeling at the sacrament, contained in

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[f] Ibid. vol. i. p. lxxix. lxxx.

[g] Cranmer's Works, vol. iv. p. 121. 126.

the ritual of 1552, and which is said to convey the doctrine of Zuinglius on the eucharist,[h] cannot be considered as a definition of doctrine made by the church of England; for independently of the uncertainty as to who really put forth that declaration, the bishops and clergy were not then bound to declare their assent to every thing comprised in the ritual: they were only bound to perform the rites therein contained, of which this declaration was no part. Its intention, however, was merely to prevent the worship of bread and wine in the eucharist, which would be decidedly idolatrous: and to reject such a real presence of Christ's body as is corporal and organical, since the body of Christ in its natural mode of existence can only be in heaven. This however does not interfere with the doctrine of the real presence then universally confessed, and maintained by the Homilies, Necessary Doctrine, and Prayer-book.

But it is alleged that the church of England must have been at this time imbued with Zuinglian and heretical doctrines, because several of that school were invited to England to reform the church, such as Peter Martyr, Ochinus, and others, whose opinions, it is said, had great influence on the reformation then proceeding.[i]

I deny that these foreign theologians were invited to England to reform the church here. The facts of the case are these. The emperor Charles V. was, in 1548, forcing the general adoption of that code of doctrine and discipline, known by the name of the "Interim." Many of the protestants of Germany could not consent to accept this formulary, (imposed too by merely temporal authority,) and were obliged to escape from the emperor's vengeance. The fugitives took refuge in England as the safest country, and archbishop Cranmer, with great humanity, wrote to others, such as Alasco, Melancthon, and Bucer, offering them an asylum.[k] At the same time he began

[h] Bossuet, Variat. liv. vii. s. 82. [i] Bossuet, Ibid. s. 81.

[k] Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 334—337.

to urge a favourite plan of his, the composition of a general formulary of doctrine for all who favoured the Reformation, in which the true doctrine might be explained without any ambiguity, and thus go down to posterity. With this object he repeatedly in 1548, 1549, and again in 1552, entreated Melancthon, Alasco, Hardenburg, and finally Bullinger and Calvin, to meet and consult on this formulary, and offered them a secure place for deliberation in England.[1]

Such were the causes, and not any general invitation to reform the church of England, which brought several of the foreign adherents of the Reformation to England, though their chief leaders probably saw deeper into the differences between them than Cranmer, and did not think it advisable to enter on fresh discussions. Alasco was made superintendent of the *foreign* congregation, protected in the exercise of their religion, in London. Bucer was, by Cranmer's influence, placed in the chair of divinity at Cambridge, and Martyr at Oxford. The doctrines of these theologians (especially the latter) at that time were, it must be confessed, of an objectionable character with reference to the eucharist: but I contend that the church of England was not responsible for their opinions. Whatever influence these divines exercised was indirect and private, through Cranmer; and as I have already shown that it did not produce the enactment of any new doctrine in the church, so I deny absolutely that the church of England at large can be responsible for the opinion of one of its bishops, and still less for those of his private advisers. Martyr was in the chair of divinity at Oxford, and had many opponents there: but God forbid, that the whole church of England should be held responsible for the heresies or errors of a professor at one of the universities. It is often difficult to censure or convict delinquents of this kind, even though the sense of the church may be manifestly against them.

[1] Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. civ., cv.; 329—349. Le Bas' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 78—82.

If it be alleged that under the influence of Martyr and Bucer, some expressions in the ritual of Edward VI., which conveyed the doctrine of the real presence, were removed on its revision in 1552; I reply, that Martyr and Bucer were merely desired to give their opinions as to the alterations expedient, as private theologians; but several alterations had been already agreed on, and they were not allowed to do more than state their sentiments to those who were in authority.[m] And the immediate reason of the omissions referred to was, that Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and the other maintainers of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and the corporal presence, had employed these passages to persuade the people that their doctrine was authoritatively taught by the church.[n] These changes by no means implied the adoption of the Zuinglian doctrine of the merely figurative presence or real absence of Christ's body; and we find no assertion of that doctrine in the ritual thus altered.

It appears then, that during the reign of Edward VI. the church made no alteration in doctrine, except in leaving the mode of the real presence in the eucharist undetermined. It is certain, indeed, that considerable alterations in rites and ceremonies were effected, but in this there is not the slightest proof of heretical variation. The removal of images specially abused by superstitious or idolatrous worship, was merely following up the practice already sanctioned by the church in the preceding reign. The subsequent removal of all images, by order of the council in 1548, was grounded on the tumults and disorders which there were at that time about them;[o] and the church in acquiescing in this regulation, did so under the conviction that they were unnecessary to true piety, and liable to the grossest abuses. The administration of the eucha-

[m] See Ridley's Life, p. 334. Le Bas' Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 73, 74.

[n] Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. iii. p. 93. 99. 114. 145. 153. 155. 494.

[o] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 111, 112.

rist in both kinds, (approved by the convocation of the church) was not *inconsistent* with the doctrine of the real presence[p] or even of concomitance maintained by the Necessary Doctrine,[q] (and never, that I am aware, absolutely condemned by the church of England since, though not expressly taught in our present formularies); but was founded on "primitive practice." Cranmer himself justified it, even admitting the doctrine of concomitance.[r] The permission of the marriage of the clergy was a mere change of discipline, and perfectly lawful as I shall prove elsewhere:[s] and the publication of the ritual in the language of the country, corrected and reformed, must be allowed by every one to have been most perfectly within the office of the church. As to the abolition of various ceremonies, such as carrying candles, ashes, palms, the paschal sepulchre, creeping to the cross, oil, chrism, &c. it was effected by the church, not on principles condemnatory of her former practice, but because these rites were abused, and the abuses could not be removed without removing their objects; or because they were too numerous.[t] These are principles to which it is impossible that any Catholic can object, and of their application the church is the proper judge.

It was on the principle of removing things non-essential and actually much abused, that the church sanctioned the removal of prayer for the departed faithful from the public service, which had been abused into a proof of the doctrine of

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[p] Bossuet, Variat. liv. vii. s. 93.

[q] Necessary Doctrine, p. 265. The Lutheran Confession of Wirtemburg, drawn up by Brentius, acknowledges the doctrine of concomitance, though it insists on communion in both kinds. (Cap. de Cœnâ.) The Articles of Smalcald say it may be true, and yet hold that communion in one kind is unlawful, as inconsistent with the divine institution. Pars. iii. art. vi.

[r] Letter to Queen Mary, Works, vol. i. p. 377.

[s] Part VI. Chapter on the celibacy of the clergy.

[t] Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

Purgatory, which she rejected.[u] In the same manner, she removed Invocation of Saints, as leading too frequently to superstition, and even to idolatry.[v] The practice of private confession to priests, and absolution, she never abolished. It is said that the form of administering the eucharist, drawn up by eighteen bishops and other clergy, in 1547, left private confession entirely to the option of individuals:[w] but strictly speaking, this license related not so much to the practice of confession in general, as to the particular custom of confessing before receiving the eucharist.[x] That the church did not mean to abolish confession and absolution (which she even regards as a sort of sacrament)[y] in general, appears from the office of the eucharist, and for the visitation of the sick, then drawn up; and from the powers conferred on priests in the ordination services. The Homilies, drawn up in 1562, only declared this confession and absolution not essential generally to the pardon of sin,[z] but this does not militate against its desirableness and

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[u] Bossuet most unjustly attributes this to mere hostility to the Roman church.—Variat. liv. vii. s. 88.

[v] It is taught by Roman theologians that there is no positive precept of the church to invoke the saints, the Council of Trent having only pronounced it salutary, not necessary.—See Milner, End of Controversy, Letter 33, where he refers in proof to Petavius, Suarez, Wallemburg, Muratori, and Natalis Alexander. Bossuet admits that this custom may be abused. "Ce qu'il y avoit à craindre pour les ignorans, c'étoit qu'ils ne fissent l'invocation des saints trop semblable à celle de Jesus Christ." The Council of Trent, he says, endeavoured to guard against this danger by their doctrine (Variat. xv. 155); but our churches acted more piously and charitably, in removing a practice which we knew by experience could not be generally purified from idolatry, though the better informed might use it without committing that dreadful sin.

[w] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 120. 123. [x] Ibid. p. 119.

[y] "Absolution is no *such* sacrament as baptism and the communion are . . . but in a general acceptation the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby a holy thing is signified," &c.—Sermon on Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i.

[z] Sermon of Repentance, part ii.

benefit, which the church never denied.[a] We only disused the canon "omnis utriusques exus" made by the synod of Lateran in 1215, and for good reasons restored the practice of confession to the state it was in previously, when it was not enjoined at a particular time every year. The alteration was merely in a matter of changeable discipline.

It is needless to dwell on the interruption to the reformation of the church of England sustained in the reign of Mary. All the religious acts made or approved by this catholic church for many years previously, were at that time assailed by the civil power, and subverted without discussion, under the influence of the queen, and Gardiner lord chancellor. But as I have before observed on the schism and nullity of all these proceedings, I shall pass without further comment to the next reign.

The accession of Elizabeth was succeeded by the legal restoration of the system of the church of England, but still without any new formulary of doctrine till 1562, when the Convocation compiled the Thirty-nine Articles. It is alleged by our opponents, however, that the church of England having been Zuinglian in the time of Edward, now veered towards the Roman doctrine, in proof of which they allege the alteration of the Article of 1552, which had declared the corporal presence impossible, the omission of the declaration concerning kneeling at the sacrament, the uniting of the forms of delivering the eucharist in the first and second books of Edward VI., and the omission of the petition against the bishop of Rome on the Litany, all which alterations are said to have been made with the intention of conciliating the professors of that very doctrine

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[a] Ibid.—See Exhortation in the Communion Office, and the Visitation of the Sick. The National Synod of Ireland, A.D. 1634, in their 64th canon charged all ministers not to reveal offences entrusted to them in private confession, under pain of irregularity. Private confession was also approved by the Lutherans.—See the Confession of Augsburg, pars i. art. xi. De Confessione; pars ii. art. iv.; Apologia Confessionis, vi.; Articuli Smalcald. pars iii. art. viii.; and Luther's Catechismus Minor, where the form of confession and absolution is prescribed.

of the corporal presence and transubstantiation, the denial of which had cost Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer their lives.[b]

Now first, I have before observed that the Articles of 1552 were never of any authority in the church of England, and therefore the convocation of 1562, in correcting what was there said as to the eucharist, and omitting what seemed too much of mere human reasoning on the nature of bodies, did not in any degree change the doctrine of the church. Secondly, we have no certain evidence of what the motives of those alterations in 1558 really were. Burnet says indeed: "It was proposed to have the communion book so contrived, that it might not exclude the belief of the corporal presence: for the chief design of the queen's council was to unite the nation in one faith, and the greatest part of the nation still continued to believe such a presence."[c] What the proof of this is, I have yet to learn; and Burnet himself, thirty-three years afterwards, gave an account of the matter, from which it may be suspected that he drew on his own imagination for the reasons assigned in the above passage. "The most material (difference) is the leaving out of that express declaration that was made against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, which *I then thought* was done in compliance with the opinion prevalent among the people of the popish persuasion, who were strangely possessed with the belief of such a presence; but I *am convinced* by the letter sent me from Zurich, that in this great regard was likewise had to the Lutheran churches, with whom a conjunction was much endeavoured by some."[d] Blackburn, the author of the Confessional, observes with much apparent truth, that Burnet in affirming that the Articles were framed with the intention of including different opinions, "says a good deal of this *at random*, or at least upon plausible conjecture."[e]

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[b] Bossuet, Variat. liv. x. s. 5—10.

[c] Burnet, vol. ii. p. 704. [d] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 518.

[e] Confessional, p. 134, &c. Bossuet, assuming that the Articles of the church of England were conceived in vague and general terms in order to

I repeat it, that there is no certain evidence of the motive of these changes—that we have only the *fact*. They may have been, very probably, designed to remove what was deemed a not altogether unreasonable ground of offence to men well disposed. But they may have been made chiefly for their own sake, on the principle of not putting forward mere human reasonings, or any thing else which might seem harsh in tone, or be in any way construed into a doubt of the real presence. That these alterations were made on the ground of their own fitness, and not with any direct intention of including the opinions of either Romanists or Lutherans, appears to me most probable. The Romish party had attended the worship of the church in the reign of Edward VI., when the Prayer-book was unaltered: why then was it necessary to make those alterations on their account? At all events, whatever may have been the motives of the queen and her council, we have no proof that they influenced the clergy who reviewed the Ritual, or that *they* had any design of comprehending persons of various doctrines within the church. If the queen had exercised any influence over them, we have reason to believe that it would have arisen from real principle, and not from mere policy; for she was well known to be even obstinately attached to opinions

admit different doctrines, remarks that such a proceeding amounted to a betraying of the truth, Variat. x. s. vi; but he himself says elsewhere in defence of the synod of Trent, to which similar vagueness of expression is attributed, "qu'il faut souvent dans les décisions de l'Eglise, s'en tenir à des expressions *générales*, pour demeurer dans cette mesure de sagesse tant louée par S. Paul, et n'être pas contre son précepte plus savant qu'il ne faut."—Variat. xv. s. 58. This is really the rule followed by our catholic apostolic churches, and not any political and latitudinarian principle of comprehending different doctrines concerning matters of faith. [The student should carefully note the difference between *ambiguous* and *general* expressions. The former, as a source of error, on the one hand, or a temporizing subterfuge, on the other, are either the seed or growth of heresy. The latter are its preventive and check, when employed with a prudent and catholic desire to entrench a definite truth, not carrying it out, but leaving room for difference as to the *modus*, or the consequences.]

and practices, which some of the clergy, who had imbibed a partiality for the discipline of Geneva or of Zurich, viewed with much annoyance. I have dwelt on this point, because the motives of these alterations are too often assumed as a matter perfectly clear and indisputable, and the reformation itself is thus most unjustly enlisted in the service of *latitudinarian* principles.

It may be further observed that Cranmer and others suffered simply for not professing their belief in transubstantiation and the corporal presence as matters of faith. Cranmer might have held these to be serious errors, and as such refused to profess his belief in them, without judging that their supporters ought to be excluded from all church communion. If therefore there had been an intention to facilitate the union of those who believed the corporal presence, there would not have been any evident inconsistency with the faith of Cranmer and his companions in suffering.

In 1562 the Convocation authorized the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, the only formulary of doctrine established by competent authority in England, since the publication of the Necessary Doctrine in 1543. It may be well to remark the points of doctrine in which the two formularies agreed and differed. Baptism and the eucharist alone are in the Articles accounted "sacraments of the gospel,"[c] but matrimony, ordination, and other rites are termed sacraments in our homilies,[d] approved by the Articles; so that there is no very marked difference as to the number of sacraments between the two formularies; for the Necessary Doctrine does not pronounce the lesser sacraments or rites of the church to be "sacraments of the gospel." It seems, in fact, that the church of England has refrained from limiting the use of the term sacrament,[e] and left

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[c] Art. XXV.

[d] Homily on Swearing, part i. On Common Prayer and Sacraments, part i.

The Catechism affirms that there are only two sacraments *generally necessary to salvation*; the Article, that there are two sacraments *ordained*

her theologians in this respect, to that ancient liberty, of which the synod of Trent has deprived the Roman theologians. If the Necessary Doctrine maintains a change of substance in the eucharist, without affirming transubstantiation,[f] the Article in denying transubstantiation does not condemn absolutely all change of substance in *any sense*,[g] but the particular change

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of Christ our Lord in the gospel. The object of the church is to secure these two great sacraments in their supremacy of dignity and necessity beyond all other rites.

f "It is a remarkable fact," says Mr. Jenkyns, in his valuable edition of Cranmer's works, "that the several formularies of faith to which he (Cranmer) was a party under Henry VIII., while they maintain most unequivocally the corporal presence, yet all fall short of any explicit assertion of transubstantiation. Even the *Necessary Doctrine*, which is justly considered to be the most favourable to the church of Rome, though it teaches that the bread and wine 'do not remain in their own substance, but by virtue of Christ's word in the consecration, be changed and turned to the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ;' yet does not go the full length of pronouncing that 'after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ.' And yet these are the terms by which it has been thought necessary to guard the Romish tenet from misinterpretation, and in which it had been expressed four years before in the noted Act of the six Articles." This omission may not unreasonably be attributed to Cranmer's opposition. Works of Cranmer, vol. i. p. lxxv. lxxvi. It must be admitted, however, that the more apparent meaning of the Necessary Doctrine implies a change of substance in the Romish sense.

g *E. g.* if we do not take the term *substance* in the scholastic sense, as distinguished from the accidents, and if the change is not corporal, or in any sense carnal, but mystical, or spiritual, or moral. Some change of the bread and wine all orthodox Christians allow. Bishop Pearson says truly, that "the μεταστοιχείωσις of the Sacramental elements maketh them not to cease to be of the same nature which before they were."—On the Creed, article iii. note on Eutychian heresy. The term *substantial* is used by bishop Poynet in his Diallacticon, and by bishop Taylor (Real Presence, &c. Oxford Ed. 1836, p. 521.) to express the true presence.* The Confession of Augsburg is said, both by the Apologia (art. iv. de Ecclesia,)

* [So by bishop Geste: Againste the Prevee Masse. (Life, App. I. 1840.) p. 86.]

called by the Romanists transubstantiation, which supposes the bread to cease to exist. The Article condemning "the sacrifices of masses, in which it was commonly said that Christ was offered for the quick and dead, for remission of pain or guilt," rightly censures that erroneous view of the sacrifice, but does not declare against the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice rightly understood,[h] and therefore does not differ from the Necessary Doctrine, which merely acknowledges a sacrifice. There is no difference between the two formularies as to the canon of Scripture, the Creed, the rule of faith, the fallibility of the church of Rome, or of general councils, the papal supremacy, and Purgatory. They both admit justification by faith, which worketh by charity.[i] The Article in declaring that concupiscence in the regenerate hath the *nature* of sin,[k] does not affirm that it is liable to the guilt and punishment of sin, if it be resisted; and therefore does not really contradict the Necessary Doctrine.[l] The Article containing the opinion that works done before the grace of God have the nature of sin, because "they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done,"[m] in order to exclude entirely the merit of such works; is not essentially contradictory to the "Doctrine," which declares that they "be not meritorious nor available to the attaining of everlasting life, when they be not done in the faith of Christ," and therefore be not accounted amongst the good works "recommended to a Christian."[n]

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and by the papal confutation of it, (num. x.) to have taught the real and "substantial" presence, which is also affirmed in the Lutheran Formula Concordiæ, pars i. art. vii.

[h] Archbishop Cranmer himself allows the eucharist to be a spiritual sacrifice. See his works by Jenkyns, vol. iii. p. 5. 161. 539. 551.

[i] Article XI. XII. Necessary Doctrine, p. 221. 223. 368.

[k] Article IX. The synod of Trent (Sess. v. de Peccato Originali,) acknowledges that concupiscence is sometimes called sin by the apostle, because it is "*ex* peccato, et *ad* peccatum inclinat."

[l] Necessary Doctrine, p. 254. 350.

[m] Art. XIII.

[n] Necessary Doctrine, p. 370.

It is true that the Necessary Doctrine approves the invoc a tion of saints to pray for us,° and the Article censures it as "a fond thing," and "repugnant to the word of God;" and perhaps a similar discrepancy may be found in the opinion of transubstantiation; but, as I have already observed, particular churches are liable to involuntary error without heresy, and may in some points change their opinions without heretical variation. Altogether I see not that there is any very great contradiction between these two formularies in matters of doctrine. I dispute not that several of those who composed the one, differed in some points from several of those that composed the other; but their formularies are not so worded as to evince any great or irreconcilable opposition between the public and authorized faith of the church of England in the reign of Henry VIII., and in that of Elizabeth.

The church of England is said to have varied again, when, in the time of Charles II., she readmitted the declaration on kneeling at the sacrament, which not only maintains the existence of the substance of bread and wine after consecration, but denies the corporal presence. But there is no inconsistency; for the former assertion only amounts to a denial of transubstantiation already rejected by the Articles, and the latter is not opposed to the real, spiritual, and heavenly presence of Christ's body.

This catholic and apostolic church has always avoided any attempt to determine too minutely the mode of the true presence in the holy eucharist. Guided by Scripture, she establishes only those truths which Scripture reveals, and leaves the subject in that mystery, with which God for his wise purposes has invested it. Her doctrine concerning the true presence appears to be limited to the following points:—

Taking as her immoveable foundation the words of Jesus Christ: "This is my body . . . . This is my blood, of the new

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° Necessary Doctrine, p. 237. 305.

covenant;"[p] and "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life;"[q] she believes that the body or flesh, and the blood of Jesus Christ, the Creator and Redeemer of the world, both God and man, united indivisibly in one person,[r] are verily and indeed given to, taken, eaten, and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper,[s] under the outward sign or form of bread (and wine,[t]) which is, on this account, the "partaking or communion of the body and blood of Christ."[u] She believes that the eucharist is not the sign of an

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[p] Matt. xxvi. 26. 28.

[q] John vi. 54. The church of England believes these expressions to relate to the eucharist. "Then we spiritually eat the *flesh* of Christ and drink his blood," &c. Exhort. in Communion Office. "Grant us therefore gracious Lord, so to eat the *flesh* of thy dear Son," &c.—Prayer before Consecration. The term "flesh," is only used in this chapter of St. John.

[r] "Who although he be God and man, yet he is not two, but one Christ . . . . one altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person."—Athan. Creed.

[s] "The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper . . . . is received and eaten in the supper."—Art. XXVIII. "The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper."—Catechism. "The holy communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ."—Exhort. in Communion Office. "We spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood."—Ibid. "Grant us, therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body," &c.—Prayer before Consecration. "Grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine . . . may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood."—Consecration. "Most heartily thank thee for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us . . . with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ."—Post Communion.

[t] "The outward sign or *form*."—Catechism. "Hereafter shall follow sermons . . . of the due receiving of his blessed body and blood under the *form* of bread and wine."—Advertisement at the end of the first book of Homilies.

[u] 1 Cor. x. 16. Art. XXVIII.

absent body,[v] and that those who partake of it receive not merely the figure or shadow, or sign of Christ's body, but the reality itself.[w] And as Christ's divine and human natures are inseparably united, so she believes that we receive in the eucharist, not only the flesh and blood of Christ, but Christ himself, both God and man.[x]

Resting on these words, "The bread which we break is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" and again, "I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine;" she holds that the nature of the bread and wine continues after consecration,[y] and therefore rejects transubstantiation, or "*the* change of the substance,"[z] which supposes the nature of bread entirely to cease by consecration.

As a necessary consequence of the preceding truths, and admonished by Christ himself, "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto

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[v] "Thus much we must be sure to hold, that in the supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent." —Hom. xxvii. p. i.

[w] The faithful "receive not only the outward sacrament, but the spiritual thing also; not the figure, but the truth; not the shadow only, but the body."—Ib. Bishop Poynet says, "Corpus Christi et veritas et figura est; veritas dum Corpus Christi et sanguis virtute Spiritus Sancti in virtute ipsius ex panis et vini substantia efficitur: figura vero est id quod exterius sentitur."—Diallacticon, p. 6.

[x] "He hath given *his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ*, not only to die for us, but also *to be our spiritual food and sustenance* in that holy sacrament." —Exhortation in Communion Office. "In no wise are they partakers of *Christ*." Art. XXIX.

[y] "The sacramental bread and wine remain still in their very natural substances."—Declaration at end of Communion Office. "If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent."—See Rubric in same. "The terrene and earthly creatures which remain."—Hom. xxvii. p. i. "The bread which we break," &c.—Art. XXVIII.

[z] "Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture," &c.—Art. XXVIII.

you they are spirit and they are life;" she holds that the presence (and therefore the eating) of Christ's body and blood, though true, is altogether "heavenly and spiritual,"[a] of a kind which is inexplicable by any carnal or earthly experience or imagination: even as the Sonship of the Eternal Word of God, and His incarnation, and the procession of the Holy Spirit are immeasurable by human understandings.

Believing according to the Scriptures, that Christ ascended in his natural body into heaven, and shall only come from thence at the end of the world;[b] she rejects for this reason, as well as the last, any such real presence of Christ's body and blood as is "corporal"[c] or organical, that is, according to the known and earthly mode of existence of a body.

Resting on the divine promise, "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life," she regards it as the more pious and probable opinion, that the wicked, those who are totally devoid of true and living faith, do not partake of the holy flesh of Christ in the eucharist,[d] God withdrawing from them so "divine"a gift,[e] and not permitting his enemies to partake of it. And hence she holds, that such a faith is "the means by which the body of Christ is received and eaten," "a necessary instrument in all these holy ceremonies;" because it is the essen-

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[a] "The body of Christ is given, taken and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner."—Art. XXVIII.

[b] "He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty; from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead."—Athan. Creed.

[c] "No adoration is intended or ought to be done . . . . unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood."—Declar. after Commun. Office.

[d] "The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth . . . . the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in nowise are they partakers of Christ."—Article XXIX.

[e] "Which being so *divine* and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily."—Exhort. in Comm. Office.

tial qualification on our parts, without which that body is not received.[f]

Following the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the apostles, and supported by their authority, she believes that "the blessing,"[g] or "consecration"[h] of the bread and wine is not without effect, but that it operates a real change: for when the sacrament is thus perfected, she regards it as so "divine a thing," so "heavenly a food," that we must not "*presume*" to approach it with unprepared minds,[i] and that sinners, although they only partake of the bread and wine, partake of them to their own *condemnation*, because they impiously disregard the Lord's body,[k] which is truly present in that sacrament. Hence it is that the church, believing firmly in the real presence of the

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[f] Hom. xxvii. p. i. Art. XXVIII. Bossuet says that this assertion of the Article is certainly true, provided the reception be understood of a *useful* reception in the sense of St. John speaking of Jesus Christ; "His own received him not," though he was in the midst of them; *i. e.* they did not receive his doctrine nor his grace.—Variat. x. sect. vi.

[g] "Beginning at our Saviour Christ, &c. for the *blessing* of the bread, and at 'likewise after supper,' &c. for the *blessing* of the cup."—Rubric in Com. Office.

[h] "The priest . . . shall say the prayer of *consecration*."—Rubric Comm. Off. "If the *consecrated* bread and wine be all spent . . . . the priest is to *consecrate* more."—Rubric Ibid. "If any remain of that which was *consecrated* . . . . the priest and such other, &c. . . . . shall immediately after the blessing, reverently eat and drink the same."—Rubric Ibid.

[i] "Which being . . . . so dangerous to them that will *presume* to receive it unworthily."—Exhort. in Comm. Office. "St. Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they *presume* to eat of that bread and drink of that cup."—Ibid. "We do not *presume* to come to this thy table, merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies."—Prayer before Consecration.

[k] "So is the danger great if we receive the same unworthily. For then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's body; we kindle God's wrath against us; we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases and sundry kinds of death."—Exhort. in Comm. Office.

"precious and blessed body and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ,"[l] speaks of the eucharist as "high and holy mysteries,"[m] exhorts us to consider the "dignity of that holy mystery,"[n] that "heavenly feast," that "holy table," "the banquet of that most heavenly food,"[o] even "the King of kings' table."[p]

Such is the simple, the sublime, and what is more, the true and Scriptural doctrine of our catholic and apostolic church—a doctrine which cannot be accused of heresy except from ignorance or uncharitableness. Even our adversaries are compelled sometimes by the force of truth to clear the church of England from the imputation of disbelieving the sublime mysteries of this holy sacrament,[q] and reducing it to a common spiritual exercise,

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[l] Prayer before Consecration. Post Communion Prayer.

[m] Exhort. Comm. Office. Hom. xxvii. p. i.

[n] Ibid. [o] Ibid.

[p] Hom. xxvii. p. i.

[q] Milner is obliged to confess that the genuine doctrine of the church of England is that of the real presence. He refers in proof to the Catechism, Articles, Ritual and Homilies, and to Ridley, Nowell, Bilson, Andrewes, Morton, Laud, Bramhall, &c. and to Cleaver, bishop of Chester, who says: "The great object of our reformers was, whilst they acknowledge the doctrine of the Real Presence, to refute that of Transubstantiation; as it was afterwards to refute the notion of impanation or consubstantiation, Sermon, Nov. 25, 1787."—See Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, let. viii. Hornyhold, another of their titular bishops, admits that "the doctrine of the church of England" in the Catechism, "expresses the real and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament as fully as any catholic can do; for if verily and indeed be not the same as really and truly, and of as full force to exclude a mere figurative presence, I confess I am yet wholly ignorant of the signification, even of the most common words, and it will be impossible to know what men mean, even when they deliver themselves in the plainest terms."—Real Principles of Catholics, p. 243. ed. 1749. Bossuet affirms that even the Declaration against transubstantiation leaves the English at liberty to "believe that the body and blood of Jesus Christ are really and substantially present

in which the mind of the individual derives edification, and perhaps grace, from the contemplation and remembrance of an absent Redeemer's sufferings.

Our doctrine leaves this subject in the sacred mystery with which God has enveloped it. It is not to be denied that the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation facilitates the mental conception of that mystery: but it has the fatal defect of being opposed to the plain language of Scripture; and if those statements are to be explained away, and reduced to merely figurative expressions, according to the doctrine of Paschasius Radbertus and his school;[r] the Berengarians, Zuinglians, and Socinians, may with reason claim a similar privilege of arbitrarily explaining away into figures the very passages in which the doctrine of the true presence itself is conveyed.

The Roman doctrine of transubstantiation is entirely founded on human reasoning from the nature of bodies, and the supposed incompatibility of the Scriptural statement that the eucharist is bread and wine, literally understood, with the other expressions of Scripture. But what Bossuet has observed of the philosophical reasonings of the school of Zurich and Geneva against

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in the bread and in the wine immediately after consecration."—Variat. xiv. 122.

[r] The Roman doctors are grievously perplexed by the language of Scripture in calling the eucharist bread after consecration. Bellarmine (De Euchar. l. i. c. 12.) mentions four solutions of the difficulty. (1.) It is called bread by a trope, as *having been* bread, as in Exod. vii. the rods turned into serpents are still called rods; Matt. ii. the blind are said to see, &c. (2.) Scripture ordinarily names things according to their *appearance*, *e. g.* angels appearing in the human shape are called men; oxen, pomegranates, &c. made of brass, are called simply oxen, &c. (3.) "*Optime*" —bread is a Hebrew phrase for *any sort* of food. (4.) It is so called because it is a solid, principal, substantial food. Of course it is easy to explain away any terms of Scripture, however clear; but those who *arbitrarily* give a figurative meaning to these terms of Scripture, cannot oppose the Zuinglians and Socinians.

the real presence, "que les reçevoir en matière de religion, c'est détruire non seulement, le mystère de l'eucharistie, mais tout d'un coup tous les mystères du Christianisme," is perfectly applicable to those of Romanists for their transubstantiation.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

The opponents of the English Reformation have eagerly laid hold of every imputation, however unjust and groundless, against the character of archbishop Cranmer; and when they have painted it in untrue colours, we are asked whether we can recognize in such a man, the instrument whom God would have chosen to promulgate doctrines of the utmost importance, hitherto unknown to the church. Now, we are by no means concerned to establish the immaculate sanctity of Cranmer, because we do not imagine that any doctrine which he was instrumental in establishing in our churches was novel. A prelate of learning and respectability as he was, might, without superlative sanctity, have been a very useful instrument in correcting abuses, errors, and superstitions, by the exercise of his ordinary vocation. But as these writers represent Cranmer as a monster of perjury, dissimulation, ingratitude, &c. in order to excite prejudice against the reformation of the church of England, which he most laudably promoted, it may be advisable briefly to notice and refute some of the more prominent charges against him.

I. It is alleged that Cranmer promised obedience to the Roman pontiff in the oath taken by him at his consecration in 1533, though he internally neither acknowledged the spiritual power of the pontiff, nor intended to obey it; and that his protestation made at the same time was an unjustifiable attempt to elude the oath.[a]

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[a] Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. xi. The oath itself ran as follows: "in Dei nomine amen. (1.) Ego Thomas, electus Cantuarien', ab hac hora inantea, fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, sanctæque apostolicæ Romanæ

Now first, it is certain that this oath was taken by every bishop in Europe with certain exceptions, not simply and absolutely. Every English bishop on receiving his temporalities from the crown, renounced by oath "all such clauses, words, and sentences" which he had of the pope, "that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to the king or his royal dignity or privileges."[b] The learned canonist Van Espen (of the Roman communion) observes, on the articles

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ecclesiæ, ac domino nostro domino Clementi Papæ septimo, suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. (2.) Non ero in consilio aut consensu vel facto, ut vitam perdant aut membrum, seu capiantur, aut in eos manus violenter quomodolibet ingerantur, vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur quovis quæsito colore. (3.) Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se aut nuncios seu literas, ad eorum damnum (me sciente) nemini pandam. (4.) Papatum Romanum et regalia sancti Petri, adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. (5.) Legatum Apostolicæ sedis in eundo et reundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. (6.) Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, domini nostri Papæ et successorum suorum prædictorum, conservare et defendere, augere et promovere curabo. Nec ero in consilio vel tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam ecclesiam, aliqua sinistra vel prejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinentur, et si talia a quibuscunque procurari novero vel tractari, impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero commode significabo eidem domino nostro, vel alteri per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit. (7.) Regulas sanctorum patrum, decreta, ordinationes, sententias, dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones, et mandata apostolica, totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles domino nostro et successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo. (8.) Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. (9.) Apostolorum limina, Romana curia existente citra, singulis annis, ultra vero montes, singulis bienniis visitabo, aut per me aut per meum nuncium, nisi apostolica absolvar licentia. (10.) Possessiones vero ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, nec impignorabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu capitalis Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Sic me Deus," &c.—Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. iv. p. 249.

[b] Burnet, vol. i. p. 226.

of the oath of bishops, that the three first are plainly conformable to those of oaths of fealty made by vassals to their superior lord; that they infer subjection to the pope not only in spirituals but in temporals. In the fourth article he shows that the "regalities of St. Peter" means the temporal possessions of the Roman see. The fifth, eighth, and ninth articles he observes, can only be executed by permission of the prince, in France and Belgium; and therefore they must be taken only conditionally. Some of the articles, he says, are so expressed, that, considering their tenor, and the ancient customs of provinces, it is very doubtful whether bishops can fulfil their oath as regards them. On one article (9) he cites Fleury's observation; "In France this article is not observed." On another article (7) he cites Florens, who says, "this clause is of the widest extent, nor does our custom allow it in many respects;" and the same, he adds, may be without doubt affirmed of Belgium. In fine, he remarks, that "Provisions, reservations, and mandates apostolical, are not here (Belgium) admitted generally and indiscriminately, but with certain limitations, according to the rights and received customs of churches: nor is it to be believed that the pontiffs would desire their observance to be sworn to otherwise; and custom and the general understanding seem to have explained the oath in this sense, not merely as regards this article, but the rest also, namely, that *the things contained in those articles be observed, as far as the rights and customs of provinces permit them.*"[c]

It is plain therefore that the oath contains many clauses which require to be understood with conditions and exceptions; and we are informed by Rechberger, that as "it did not appear free from all danger to the state," it was ordained by the imperial statute of Joseph II., emperor of Germany, that in the Austrian states it should only be taken, on condition that it be understood to relate simply to canonical obedience. The Austrian bishops

[c] Van Espen, Jus. Eccl. Univ. pars i. tit. xv. c. 2.

also must previously take a particular oath of allegiance and fidelity to the emperor ;[d] and in Spain the oath to the pontiff is always taken with certain conditions.[e] In fact, every other bishop of the Roman communion must make some mental exceptions, unless he means to bind himself to absolute obedience to the pontiff in temporals as well as spirituals ; and therefore Archbishop Cranmer, so far from deserving blame for taking it with certain qualifications, merits approbation for making an open protest of the sense in which he took it, while others contented themselves with merely *mental* reservations. His protest was to this effect, that he did not mean to oblige himself by it, "to say or do any thing against the law of God, the king, or state of England, or the laws or prerogatives of the same ;" or to prevent himself from freely speaking, consulting, and consenting to all things concerning the reformation of the Christian religion, government of the church of England, or prerogatives of the crown or commodity of the state ; and from reforming what seemed to him ought to be reformed in the church of England.[f] It is impossible to discover in this any fraud or hypocrisy.

"But," says Bossuet, "either this oath is an illusion, or it obliges to acknowledge the spiritual power of the pope. The new archbishop therefore acknowledged it, though he did not believe it." I reply that he certainly did acknowledge and believe the spiritual power of the pope, but only as depending on the grace and favour of the king and church of England : not otherwise. He bound himself, according to Van Espen's interpretation, to obey the pope *as far as the rights and customs of our churches permitted*, that is, until they should legitimately revive their ancient rights and customs, and suppress the papal

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[d] Rechberger, Enchiridion Jur. Eccl. Austriac.

[e] Report from Select Committee on Roman Catholic subjects (1816), p. 313.

[f] Cranmer's Works, vol. iv. p. 248.

jurisdiction. The oath would from that time be null, because the condition supposed in it had come to an end.

II. Bossuet endeavours to fix on Cranmer a charge of the most odious dissimulation in the following points.[s] His opinions being Lutheran, and therefore opposed to the mass and the catholic doctrines," he carried his dissimulation so far that the pontiff made him his penitentiary, an office which he accepted, notwithstanding his Lutheran opinions. He concealed his marriage in Germany (which was contrary to his promise and the canons) from king Henry VIII. He accepted the papal bulls for the see of Canterbury against his conscience. He performed mass, which he regarded as an abomination, during the whole reign of Henry VIII., and in ordaining priests made use of the terms of the Roman Pontifical, giving them power to "change by their holy benediction the bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ, and to offer sacrifice and say mass as well for the living as the dead." "Behold him then at once a Lutheran, married, concealing his marriage, archbishop according to the Roman Pontifical, submitting to the pope whose power he abhorred in his heart, saying the mass which he did not believe, and giving power to say it . . . a man who practised during so long a time that which he believed to be the height of abomination and sacrilege." And further: the Articles devised by Henry VIII. in 1536, the Confession of 1538, and that of 1543, comprised the doctrine of penance, the real presence, transubstantiation, mass for the dead, the seven sacraments, the honouring of images, invocation of saints, adoration of the cross, use of ceremonies, &c. Yet Cranmer subscribed all these articles which he disbelieved in his heart, and even drew up regulations published by Cromwell for their enforcement, and himself aided in executing them in every way.

Such is the sum of the charges of this kind advanced against Cranmer, and they would certainly suffice to blacken his character most effectually, were they not evidently founded on a

[s] Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. 9, 10, 11. 30. 32. 37, 38, 39.

misrepresentation of his real sentiments. I shall notice them in order.

Admitting then, as not impossible, that in 1529 or 1530, he was inclined in some points to Lutheran opinions, it remains to be considered what these opinions were. Certainly Luther himself approved of penance,[h] therefore if Cranmer's opinions agreed with his, he could not have held it wrong to accept the office of papal penitentiary, especially while the pontiff was still in communion with the church of England, and exercised ordinary jurisdiction here. With reference to his marriage it may be observed, that there is no evidence that he ever denied it; and I shall elsewhere show that such a marriage was lawful, and that there was no obligation to reveal it.[i] It is, besides, a matter of dispute even among Roman theologians, whether the obligation of clerical celibacy be *ex præcepto ecclesiæ*, or *ex voto;* and Ligorio declares that both are probable opinions, and cites Mastrius, Bosco, Herinx, Scotus, Palaus, Valentia, Aversa, Sanchez, &c., as allowing that clerical celibacy is probably not obligatory from any *vow*.[k]

That Cranmer really maintained doctrines in matters of faith different from the pontiff himself, when his bulls were forwarded to him at the request of *king Henry*, not his own, may be asserted, but has never yet been proved. The celebration of mass,[l] and the offering of sacrifice for the living and

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[h] See the forms of Confession and Absolution in his Catechismus Minor (pars iv.)

[i] Part VI. Chapter on the celibacy of the Clergy.

[k] A. M. De Ligorio, Theologia Moralis, lib. vi. tract v. art. 808.

[l] The Lutheran Confession of Augsburg says: "Our churches are falsely accused of abolishing the mass, for the mass is retained among us and celebrated with the greatest reverence; and almost all the accustomed ceremonies are preserved, except that in some parts German hymns are intermingled with the Latin for the instruction of the people."—Pars. ii. art. iii. The Apology of the Confession says: "It must be premised that we do not abolish the mass, but religiously retain and defend it. Masses are celebrated among us on all Sundays and other feasts in which the sacrament is

dead,[m] in a certain sense, need not have been inconsistent with a Lutheran's conscience. Melancthon and the ministers of Wittemburg, and the Lutheran Universities of Leipsic and Wittemburg submitted in 1549 to the Interim, which obliged them to celebrate mass in the customary manner, and to use all the ceremonies of the church. They regarded these as "adiaphora," indifferent matters. Further, it is plain that Cranmer did not hold the office of the eucharist as then administered in England, to be an abomination; because, after king Henry's death, when he was at liberty to proceed in the Reformation, he agreed with the other bishops and divines in very nearly translating that office into English; giving it the title of "the mass," and leaving in it both a verbal oblation of the elements, and prayer for the departed faithful. And so little did this office vary from the essentials of that previously used, that even Gardiner expressed his approbation of it in his subsequent controversy with Cranmer.[n] The fact is, that Cranmer was, in the very last years of his life, induced to verge too much towards sacramentarian errors, by the conversation of Alasco and Peter Martyr: but his opinions during the whole reign of Henry VIII. were widely different. In 1533 he held Frith to be a heretic for doubting the corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar.[o] In 1537 he held the commonly received notions on

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distributed to those who desire it, after they have been examined and received absolution. And the customary public ceremonies are preserved, the order of lessons, prayers, vestments," &c.—Art. xi. de Missa.

[m] The Apology of the Confession of Augsburg admits that the fathers call the Eucharist a sacrifice, which it explains to be a eucharistic sacrifice; and observes that the term "oblation," if understood of the whole service, the prayers, and thanksgivings, gives them no offence.—Art. xii. de Missa. "We know the ancients speak of prayer for the dead, which we do not prohibit, but the application of the Lord's Supper for the dead *ex opere operato* we reject."—Ibid. In the same place the opinion of Aërius that such prayers are useless, is given up.

[n] Cranmer's Works by Jenkyns, vol. iii. p. 99. 114. 155.

[o] Cranmer's Works, vol. i. p. 32.

the real presence, and in his epistle to Vadianus testified his displeasure at the errors of Zuinglius and Œcolampadius.[p] In 1538 he maintained, in a public disputation against Lambert, a Sacramentary, the possibility of Christ's body being in several places.[q] In the same year he expressed his opinion in a letter to Cromwell, that a person who disputed "against the opinion of transubstantiation," without denying the real presence, taught the truth:[r] yet his notes in a manuscript collection, prove that in 1543 he was a believer in the corporal presence at least, if not in transubstantiation.[s] It was not till 1546 that he ever doubted the corporal presence, when Ridley's conversation first unsettled his opinion.[t] In 1548 he published Justus Jonas's Catechism, containing apparently Lutheran views of the eucharist, though he afterwards explained them away; and in 1551, in replying to Dr. Smythe, he said, "I confess of myself that not long before I wrote the said catechism, I was in the error of the real (corporal) presence, as I was many years past in divers other errors, as of transubstantiation, of the sacrifice propitiatory of the priests in the mass, of pilgrimages, purgatory, pardons, and many other superstitious errors,

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[p] Ibid. p. 194, 195.—As to Luther's own opinions on the eucharist, we know that while he vehemently maintained the substantial and corporal presence, he regarded transubstantiation as a matter, which it was of little importance to admit or deny. "Permitto itaque qui volet utramque opinionem retinere."—De Captiv. Babyl. t. ii. fol. 66. Melancthon said, in 1543, that Luther conceded the doctrine of transubstantiation to some churches of Italy.—Hospinian, Hist. Sacr. p. 2. fol. 184. Luther continued the elevation of the sacrament till 1542 or 1543, when he discontinued it in consequence of the offence it gave to some persons (Gasp. Peucer, Hist. Phil. Melancth. ed. 1596, p. 24); but in 1544 he declared it was lawful as a testimony of the real and corporal presence (Parva Conf. 1544, Hosp. fol. 13); and in 1545 he declared the sacrament to be *adorable*.—Cont. xxxii. Art. Lov. Theolog. t. ii. fol. 503. He taught that the body of Christ ought to be adored and honoured in the bread, on two other occasions. See Hospinian, fol. 14.

[q] Ibid. p. lxxiii. [r] Ibid. p. 257. [s] Ibid. lxxiv. [t] Ibid. lxxvii.

. . . but after it had pleased God to show unto me by his holy word a more perfect knowledge of his Son Jesus Christ, from time to time, as I grew in knowledge of him, by little and little, I put away my former ignorance."[u] Thus Cranmer evidently believed the corporal presence during the whole reign of Henry VIII., and we have seen that even in Edward the Sixth's time he admitted an oblation or sacrifice in the eucharist, and therefore he did not act against his own conscience in saying mass; more especially since he afterwards did not *reject*, but *explained* the language of the fathers in speaking of the eucharist as a sacrifice, by supposing rightly that they called it so, chiefly as being a commemoration of the one great sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the altar of the cross.[v] This most acceptable spiritual sacrifice he did not deny: and therefore he might without violating his conscience, both perform the liturgy and give to the priests whom he ordained, the power of offering sacrifice.

With reference to the several formularies of faith signed by him, we have not a shadow of proof that he subscribed to any thing which he really deemed unlawful. The corporal presence I have already spoken of. Transubstantiation, as a word, is not contained in those formularies, and their doctrine is susceptible of another interpretation. Confession, penance, and absolution are maintained by the Lutherans themselves,[w] and the use of images, and communion in one kind, were sometimes held by Luther to be matters indifferent, or even approved;[x] as the ceremonies of the church generally (including, of course, creeping to the cross) were by Melancthon and the Saxon divines. Therefore there is no proof that Cranmer, if he maintained Lutheran opinions in any point, acted against his conscience

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[u] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 13. [v] Ibid. p. 5. 161. 539. 551.

[w] Confessio August. pars i. art. xii. De Pœnitentia; Apologia Confessionis vii. de nu. et usu Sacramentorum.

[x] Gerdesii Hist. Evangelii Renovati, vol. ii. p. 66. He approved frequently of communion in one kind, though he varied on the question.—Hospin. pars ii. fol. 12, 13.

in subscribing these formularies. Customs and ceremonies then approved, were afterwards suppressed, partly by his influence; but he had then considered more attentively the abuses and evils connected with them, and held it pious and expedient to remove them.

There never was a more futile or calumnious charge, than this of imputing to Cranmer, the profession or practice of things which he considered sinful or unchristian. His opinions *changed*, and we are not bound to defend the soundness of his judgment on every particular point; but his sincerity and honesty cannot fairly be questioned.

III. The subjects on which Cranmer's opinions have been condemned, are the eucharist, and the powers of the civil magistrate in connexion with the ministry and ordinances of the church. Of the first I have already spoken above, and in chapter VI: with reference to the latter it is not to be disputed, that Cranmer did at one time entertain *privately*, opinions which merit censure. It appears from his answer to queries concerning the sacraments, and the appointment and power of bishops and priests, (1540) that he held several strange errors, such as that the clergy are as much ministers under the king as the civil officers, that ordination is unnecessary, that popular election or appointment by the civil magistrate confers a sufficient mission, that bishops and priests were not two offices originally, and that excommunication was not allowable if the law of the land forbade it.[y] These doctrines, as maintained by Cranmer, seem certainly indefensible: but we may observe that they were only private opinions, not made public, but merely given in answer to certain queries of the government. Secondly, he did not hold them firmly, for he added, "this is mine opinion and sentence at this present, which nevertheless I do not temerariously define," and besides, it is fairly to be presumed that he afterwards corrected his error; for in 1543 he allowed, in the Necessary Doctrine, that "order is a gift or grace of ministra-

[y] Cranmer's Works, vol. ii. p. 101—103.

tion in Christ's church, given by God to Christian men by the consecration and imposition of the bishop's hands upon them."[z] His catechism (1548), in the article on the keys, insists on the Divine commission, apostolical succession, and sacred character of the priesthood.[a] He was instrumental in drawing up the Preface to the Ordinal, in which it is declared that no man might ever exercise the office of bishop, priest, and deacon, without being admitted to the same by lawful authority, with imposition of hands; and, therefore, no one shall be accounted lawfully ordained in this church, unless he be episcopally ordained. It appears, therefore, that Cranmer did not continue to maintain these errors.

IV. The character of Cranmer was not naturally one of much firmness or courage: Hooper said of him in a letter, that he wishes he were not too feeble.[b] This, however, was an infirmity, not a crime; and if he did fail sometimes in due decision, an apostle himself had been still more unhappy. The charges against him on this head are, of an unworthy subserviency to the king in dissolving his marriage with Catherine of Arragon, and confirming that with Anna Boleyn; in afterwards annulling Anna Boleyn's marriage, and thus rendering her child illegitimate; in annulling the marriage with Anne of Cleves. He is also accused of unjustly signing the death warrant of Lord Seymour, and of cowardice as regarded his recantations.[c] Now first, there is not a shadow of evidence that Cranmer did not act sincerely, according to his judgment of probabilities, in dissolving the marriage with Catherine.[d] It had been judged

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[z] Necessary Doctrine, p. 277.

[a] Cranmer's Catechism, (Instruction of the Keys, p. 193, &c.) Oxford ed.

[b] Burnet, vol. iii. p. 347.

[c] Bossuet, Variations, liv. vii. sect. 21, 22. 36. 98. 103.

[d] The dishonesty imputed to Cranmer by Bossuet in assuming the title of Legate of the Apostolic See in the sentence of divorce, is a mere calumny. The papal power was at this moment legally established in England; and the sentence might have been objected to as irregular and illegal, if the usual and legal style of the archbishop of Canterbury had been omitted.

null by many universities abroad and at home, and by the bishops and convocation of England. Secondly, the annulling of Anna Boleyn's marriage cannot be imputed as a fault to Cranmer, for it appears that the queen herself came into court where he sat as judge, and in the presence of several witnesses, confessed some just and lawful impediments,[e] on which the archbishop was obliged to give sentence against the marriage. It is true that those impediments have not in fact been discovered, the record of the sentence being burnt, and this throws a doubt on the transaction: but the archbishop may have been deceived, and the sentence was given by the advice of persons learned in the law.[f] The inconsistency remarked between the archbishop's pronouncing the marriage null and void, and the peers condemning her to death as an unfaithful wife to Henry,[g] does not throw any discredit on the archbishop, because the act of parliament, which came first, did not *pronounce*, but only supposed the validity of the marriage. Cranmer is blamed for not interceding more vigorously for Anna Boleyn's life, but it appears, in fact, that he was the *only person* who attempted to speak in her favour to the king,[h] and he doubtless did it in the way which he judged most persuasive to a man of violent temper. Thirdly, the marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves was pronounced null for certain causes assigned, not merely by Cranmer, but by the whole convocation. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was the chief agent in this proceeding, and not Cranmer, as Bossuet pretends.[i] His signing the death warrant of Lord Seymour, condemned without hearing his cause, was an act which he should have avoided, from the apprehension of scandal; but unless it can be shown that Seymour was innocent, and that there was not certain and unquestionable evidence against him, which has not been done; the substantial injustice imputed to Cranmer cannot be proved. His recantations, said to have been made more than once, with a hope of preserving

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[e] Burnet, vol. i. p. 370. [f] Soames, Hist. Ref. vol. ii. p. 137.
[g] Burnet, p. 371. [h] Ibid. p. 364, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 508, 509.

his life, are only proofs that his natural firmness did not exceed that of the great majority of men: even some of the early martyrs had exhibited at first a similar weakness: but his last hours shed a splendour on his name. Altogether it may be concluded, that Cranmer was a man liable to infirmities, not free from faults and mistakes, but altogether free from the crimes which have been attributed to him by our adversaries: and as we do not view him or any other prelates or theologians of our church at that time, as its founders, though we acknowledge with gratitude the beneficial reforms which their learning and piety aided in effecting; we do not hold ourselves responsible for every private opinion which some of them have entertained, or for any particular act which they performed as individuals.

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE REFORMATION AND SCHISM IN IRELAND.

The churches of Ireland had, in the course of four centuries before the Reformation, become subject to the Roman see,[a] which gradually usurped the patronage of the bishoprics and other benefices by provisions, and exacted oaths of allegiance from the subjects whom it promoted. The people were immersed in barbarism, ignorance, and superstition, through the anarchy caused by the wars and insurrections of a multitude of rival septs.

The abolition of the papal power in England by the united action of the temporal and spiritual powers, was speedily, though imperfectly, imitated in Ireland. In 1537, the Irish parliament declared the king supreme head of the church of Ireland, prohibited appeals to Rome, suppressed the papal jurisdiction in Ireland, and prohibited all pecuniary payments to the Roman see.[b] The primate Cromer opposed ineffectually these regulations;[c] they were sustained by Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates, and it seems that the clergy took the oath of regal supremacy, and rejection of the papal jurisdiction, prescribed by the act of parliament. The Irish princes and lords also consented universally to take this oath, and made indentures to the same effect with the king.[d] In 1538 images abused by pilgrimages and superstitions were removed,[e] yet during the rest of the reign of king Henry, it appears

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[a] It was only in 1152 that the Roman pontiff acquired ordinary jurisdiction over the Irish churches, when at the Synod of Kells, the four archbishops for the first time received palls from Rome.

[b] Cox, History of Ireland, p. 247.

[c] Ibid. p. 256. Ware's Bishops of Ireland, edited by Harris.

[d] Cox, p. 253. 273, 274.

[e] Ibid. p. 255.

that not much was accomplished; partly through the intrigues of the Roman pontiff and his adherents, and partly on account of the disturbed state of Ireland. Even in the reign of Edward VI., A.D. 1550, the adoption of the English Ritual, recommended by a royal proclamation, was opposed in the assembly of the clergy by the primate Dowdal, who, with most of his suffragans, refused to accept it.[f] Brown, archbishop of Dublin, and other prelates, however, approved the Ritual, and introduced it into their dioceses.[g] It appears, in fact, that notwithstanding the events which took place in 1537, the papal power continued to prevail partially in Ireland during the whole reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., for even as late as the year 1550, the crown occasionally admitted to the possession of their temporalities bishops who had been provided with Irish sees at Rome.[h]

In the reign of Mary, the chief prelate Dowdal, under royal commission in 1554, deprived and expelled from their sees the archbishop of Dublin and three or four other prelates favourable to reformation,[i] and six bishops were ordained in place of the prelates expelled or compelled to fly. In 1557 the parliament also reversed all the acts made against the authority of the Roman see, which it restored in its full vigour.

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[f] Ibid. p. 256. Ware's Bishops of Ireland. [g] Ibid. p. 289.

[h] Thus, in 1541, Owen Magenis ordained bishop of Down and Conor by Paul III., was, on his oath of allegiance to the king, restored to the temporalities of that see; and in like manner Roland de Burgo, bishop of Clonfert. In 1542 Hugh Ocervalan, made bishop of Clogher by the Roman patriarch, was confirmed by royal letters patent on his going to England with Oneal, prince of Tyrone, who submitted to the royal power. In 1550 Arthur Magenise, made bishop of Dromore by the Roman patriarch, was confirmed by the king. There are other similar instances.—See Ware's History of the Irish Bishops, and Annals.

[i] Cox, History of Ireland, p. 299, Ware's Bishops. Staples of Meath, Brown of Dublin, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, were deprived. Bale of Ossory and Casy of Limerick fled, and others were put in their place irregularly.

In the reign of Elizabeth the emancipation of the church of Ireland from the Roman usurpation was finally accomplished, yet not without the accompanying calamity of a schism which has continued ever since. Few parts of history have been more misrepresented than that which concerns the catholic church of Ireland, and the schism there in the reign of Elizabeth. It is too often asserted, without contradiction, that religion was changed at that time by merely secular and parliamentary power; that the catholic bishops and clergy were expelled from their places, and supplanted by ministers sent from England to propagate their opinions by force.

The ecclesiastical regulations made at this time consisted in the rejection of the papal jurisdiction, the acknowledgment of the regal power in ecclesiastical affairs, and the adoption of the English instead of the Roman Ritual.[k] I have elsewhere proved (see Chapters II. and III., and Origines Liturgicæ, vol. ii. p. 1, &c.) that these regulations were in themselves legitimate, and consistent with catholic principles; we are then only to consider whether they were now made by a competent authority.

The earl of Sussex was sent by the queen in 1560, to promote the adoption of these measures in the Irish parliament, and also to convene a general assembly of the clergy and secure their sanction.[l] In the parliament which met and enacted these regulations, nineteen prelates were present, of whom only two were opposed to their adoption.[m] At this time we know

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[k] The church of Ireland does not seem to have enacted any new formulary of doctrine during the whole of the sixteenth century. It was not till 1615 that the Synod of Ireland authorized 101 Articles, which in most points followed closely the doctrine of St. Augustine. The XXXIX. Articles of the Synod of London, 1562, though always esteemed orthodox in Ireland, were not formally accepted by the catholic church there till the year 1634; since which time they have been used as the standard of doctrine, in preference to the Articles of 1615.

[l] Ware's Annals of Ireland, anno 1560.

[m] Leland's Ireland, book iv. chapter i.

that not more than twenty-six bishops were living in the Irish church, probably not so many.[n] Thus a great majority of the whole synod of Irish bishops assented to the measures in parliament, and the assembly of the clergy offered no opposition. So that it is evident that the reformation of the church of Ireland was not effected merely by secular authority, in contradiction to that of the church itself.

With regard to the deprivation and expulsion of the bishops at the Reformation, so assiduously and impudently asserted, we have merely to state these facts. *Five* bishops favourable to reformation had been expelled irregularly by royal commissions in the time of queen Mary: *two* only, out of the whole number of Irish bishops, were expelled from their sees in the reign of Elizabeth, in consequence of their opposition to the measures approved by the rest; and it is to be observed, that these two bishops had both intruded into their sees; the legitimate pastors being still alive, and deprived not by a synod, but by a single bishop, which was altogether contrary to the canons.[o] Therefore these two bishops were justly expelled; and the remainder of the synod of Irish bishops remained (either by right or tacit dispensation) in the possession of their sees and jurisdictions. The inferior clergy also generally concurred, and the laity everywhere continued subject to their pastors, and did not cease to attend the sacred offices.[p] It is true, however, that this unity was more apparent than real or firm, because among the clergy were some who conformed, in the hope that some favourable circumstances might arise for the restoration of the papal authority. And besides this, the want of in-

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[n] According to Sir James Ware there were twenty-nine bishoprics in Ireland at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Two of these, Clonfert and Elphin, were held in commendam by Rowland de Burgo. Armagh was vacant, and Skiddy, bishop elect of Cork, was not yet consecrated. Of some sees we know not whether they were then filled or not.

[o] See above, Chapter IV. p. 441.

[p] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. i. p. 33. Phelan's Remains, vol. ii. p. 166.

formation and the credulity of the people rendered them too accessible to the arts by which they were ere long assailed.

The court of Rome, ever inflexible in the maintenance and augmentation of its power, could not permit the church of Ireland to pass from under its dominion and resume its ancient rights, without offering the strongest opposition. It was necessary to excite a schism in this church. The first effect of the intrigues of Rome is seen in the fact of the presence of three bishops assuming Irish titles at the Synod of Trent, A.D. 1563, within four years after the abolition of the papal jurisdiction in Ireland:[q] but it seems that they were mere creatures of the pope, on whom he had conferred the titles of those sees very recently.[r] One at least of these men went afterwards to Ireland, and was in schism with the rest of the church, endeavouring vainly to introduce the regulations of the Synod of Trent, which the church of Ireland never received.

I have already spoken of the superstition and ignorance of the people, which rendered them so peculiarly open to deception and fraud. This appears from the language of a Romish author who lived early in the following century, and who, in describing the danger to which the people were exposed, of remaining in communion with the church of Ireland, says, "Some indeed were *so devoid of information in the faith*, that they knew not what to maintain or to say, except that they firmly believed whatever the catholic Roman church believed, that

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[q] Roth, titular bishop of Ossory, in speaking of Thomas Hierlacius, bishop of Ross, says: "Quia in Synodo Tridentina cum aliis duobus Hiberniæ episcopis Donaldo Magonail Ep. Rapoten. et Eugenio Ohairt Ep. Agaden. ipse tertius nec infimus eorum interesset, præcipuo quodam studio et solicitudine conabatur decreta ejus et disciplinam observare et per totum districtum suæ jurisdictionis propagare."—Analecta, pars iii. p. 72. See also Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 92.

[r] Ohairt was named bishop of Achonry by the Roman bishop during the time of the Council of Trent.—See Ware's Bishops of Ireland, edited by Harris.

she had the true catholic doctrine, and the English were wrong in faith. . . . . In this *extreme darkness and ignorance* it is not to be doubted that the Irish avoided, ridiculed, and contemned the English preachers by Divine inspiration; and rejected their errors by a sort of hidden and secret light of faith."[s] This is to be understood as a description of the feelings and conduct of the Romish party rather at the time when this author wrote (1621,) than at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, when these angry feelings were yet undeveloped; but it affords ample proof of the ignorance of the people even then, who were thus unhappily liable to the impositions of popish emissaries.

To a people thus ignorant and predisposed to superstition, the Romish missionaries who came from abroad to pervert them from the church, addressed themselves. They declaimed against the church of Ireland as infected with heresy and schism, vehemently exhorted the people to forsake its communion, and as their hearers could not comprehend other arguments, worked on their fears and superstitions by innumerable lying miracles, wonders, and visions. Of the species of arguments used to deceive this hapless people, we find abundant examples in the pages of Osullevan, and Roth, pseudo-bishop of Ossory, which are loaded with fabulous miracles. For example, St. Columbkill takes the form of a wolf, and carries a torch into the magazine of a garrison of English 'heretics,' who are in consequence destroyed. A 'heretic' converts a priest's robe into a nether garment, but as soon as he draws it on, he takes fire and is consumed on the spot. A popish bishop, condemned for high treason, summons his judge to appear before a higher tribunal in a certain number of days, on which the latter accordingly dies in torments. A governor, particularly obnoxious to the Romish party, is heard conversing with the devil, and immediately an explosion is heard, and he is found frightfully distorted and dies raging mad.

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[s] Osullevan, Hist. Catholic. Iberniæ, p. 109.

As an instance of the course pursued by the Romish emissaries in their labours to create a schism, and establish their new church in Ireland, I shall relate a portion of the history of Richard Creagh, who is styled by Roth "the renowned champion of the catholic faith, and the principal PROPAGATOR or RESTORER of the same in his native land."[t] He was the son of a merchant at Limerick, whence he went to the university of Louvain, and obtained the degree of Master of Arts, and ultimately that of Bachelor in Theology. "Having received this degree," says Roth, "he deemed it his duty to return to his country now overgrown with weeds and brambles, through the schism and heresy springing up again under queen Elizabeth (her catholic sister being now dead). He grieved at the errors every where disseminated in that kingdom, especially in his native city (Limerick), which he earnestly desired to reform, and also to sow better seed. He laboured strenuously by private exhortation, public preaching, and performing the sacred offices of the priesthood, (for he had returned from abroad invested with the character of priest, to lend greater efficacy to his work). He discoursed very earnestly on the *impiety* of taking the oath of ecclesiastical supremacy arrogated by the queen, and *the unlawfulness of frequenting and communicating in the schismatical* (i. e. church) *service;* and *he withdrew many from their nefarious use and connexion.*"[u] With the same objects he taught a school: "With all possible zeal and solicitude he applied himself to the instruction of youth, in order that he might mould the tender clay in the orthodox faith."[v]

Thus it appears that the people were induced to forsake the

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[t] "Magnus hic et clarus ecclesiæ Hiberniæ hierarcha præclarus erat fidei Catholicæ pugil et primarius ejusdem vel propagator vel restaurator in suo natali solo."—Roth, Analecta, iii. p. 1.

[u] "De impia nuncupatione juramenti primatus ecclesiastici a regina arrogati, de illicita frequentatione et communicatione in officio schismatico pressius agebat, et plurimos avocabat a nefario utriusque usu et nexu."—Ibid. p. 7.

[v] Ibid. p. 9.

communion of their legitimate pastors, by those foreign emissaries, who came at the pope's instigation, to found a new sect in Ireland. But, to proceed. After exciting a schism at Limerick he went to Rome, when the pope, Pius V. esteeming him a proper subject, consecrated him archbishop of Armagh; that see being already filled by the legitimate primate Loftus, who had been canonically consecrated in Ireland. He was now to intrude into the jurisdiction of this prelate, to excite, if possible, a schism in the church, and erect rival altars and a rival priesthood. As Roth says, "therefore being sent from Rome, he came aided by the *most liberal munificence* of pope Pius, in order that he might withdraw his *sheep in Ireland* from the jaws of *most savage wolves and of the lioness*, (i. e. their legitimate pastors,) and preside over them zealously and piously."[w] Thus furnished with authority and money by the pope, he endeavoured to pervert the people and excite a schism, in which he was not altogether unsuccessful. Shortly afterwards the Roman pontiff ordained Maurice Gibbon to the see of Cashel, who had the audacity to demand from the legitimate metropolitan Maccaghwell, a surrender of his office; and on his refusal to do so, *wounded*, and attempted to assassinate him with a spear, for which he was obliged to escape to Spain.[x]

These proceedings, however, did not sufficiently advance the schism in Ireland. The people still too generally continued subject to their pastors, notwithstanding the efforts of the Romish emissaries, some of whom also themselves repented of their sinful undertaking and united themselves to the church. Thus the schismatic bishop of Clogher was reconciled to the church in the time of Richard Creagh mentioned above, and is said ineffectually to have exhorted the latter to conform also.[y] Miler Magrath, made bishop of Down by the pope, also repented, and

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[w] "Roma itaque missus venit non sine liberalissima Pii Pont. Max. munificentia, ut et oves suas in Hybernia e truculentissimorum luporum ac lœnæ faucibus everteret, atque eis officiose ac pie præesset." p. 22.

[x] Ware's Abps. of Cashel. [y] Roth, Analecta, iii. p. 36.

having embraced catholic unity, was elevated to the see of Clogher by the royal favour.[z] Peter Poër, pseudo-bishop of Ferns, followed his example, but whether from want of preferment or from natural instability relapsed again.[a] The civil government steadily set itself against the Romish schism, and there was extreme danger of the total overthrow of that party. We find this to have been frequently their apprehension during the reign of Elizabeth. Hence it was necessary to employ new methods of withdrawing the people from their legitimate pastors.

The Irish princes and lords, who exercised a great power over their retainers, and who were always jealous of the royal prerogative, and even aimed at independent sovereignty, were stimulated to break into insurrection on pretence of maintaining the rights of religion; and the people were excited to hate and persecute the church of Ireland, as being the religious system supported by the *English* government. The chieftains themselves were encouraged by aid of all kinds from the pope and the king of Spain, at that time the most powerful monarch in Europe; and the consequence was, that the reign of Elizabeth in Ireland was marked by a series of savage insurrections, under pretence of sustaining the (so-called) catholic cause.

In the insurrections under Jaimus Geraldinus and Desmond, Odonel, and Oneal of Tyrone, religion was the avowed object, and the bishops and priests of the Romish schism the chief political agents. We are about to review scenes in which these ministers of religion, who pretended to peculiar sanctity and piety, and who styled their opponents wolves, heretics, and antichrists, were guilty of almost incredible enormities. We behold professed ministers of Christ, plotting against the dominion of their lawful sovereign, exciting and stimulating all whom they can influence to war against the royal authority, heading bands of insurgents, and issuing orders for the massacre in cold blood of all prisoners taken from the royal armies.

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[z] Ware's Bishops of Clogher.

[a] Roth, Analecta, iii. p. 61.

Queen Elizabeth had been excommunicated and declared an heretic by pope Pius V. in 1569, who absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and forbad them on pain of anathema to obey her in any respect, while he conferred her dominions on the king of Spain.[b] Gregory XIII., in 1570, relaxed the obligation of this bull *for the present* to his own adherents, until a fitting time for its execution should arrive. About 1575, Jaimus Geraldine of Desmond plotting an insurrection, went (as we are informed by the Romish author Osullevan) to Spain, "related to Philip II. the catholic king, the state of affairs in Ireland, and sought aid from him for the 'catholics.'" He then proceeded to Rome, "where at that time was Cornelius Omelrian, a Franciscan, an Irishman, and bishop of Killaloe, and Thomas Stukely, who sought aid from the pope against the English in the name of the Irish."[c] There also was Dr. Sanders, that calumnious Jesuit,[d] (the glory of the English nation as Osullevan calls him). Jaimus solicited the pope, Gregory XIII., to aid the catholic church, then *nearly falling* in Ireland; and the result was, that "his holiness" granted a pardon to all the *bands of robbers* who then infested Italy, on condition that they should undertake this expedition to Ireland for the exaltation of the see of Rome. Of the army thus composed, the pontiff made Hercules Pisanus general; and the *bishop* Omelrian, together with the jesuit Sanders, placed themselves at the head of these bands of robbers, by whose aid they expected to establish their sect in Ireland.[e]

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[b] According to the Romish historian Osullevan, Elizabeth was justly declared a heretic by Pius V. on V. Kal. Mar. 1569, and others were empowered to take away her kingdom. "Hinc," he proceeds, "a multis Ibernis sæpe capiuntur arma pro religionis jure: omnia ferro et flamma devastantur et corrumpuntur."—Hist. Cath. p. 70.

[c] Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 94.

[d] See the falsehoods of his history detected by Burnet, History of the Reformation.

[e] "Eo tempore nonnulli latronum manipuli Italiam non parum infestabant, dum ex sylvis et montibus, in quibus latebant, erumpentes, nocturnis rapinis, et incursionibus pagos diripiebant, et itinera obsidentes viatores spoliabant.

They landed after various difficulties, with 4000 stand of arms, supplied by the king of Spain to arm the adherents whom they hoped to find in Ireland. They brought over a bull from Gregory XIII., in which all who should join themselves to Jaimus, and rebel against queen Elizabeth, were granted a plenary indulgence and remission of their sins, as in the case of making war on *the Turks in the Holy Land!*[f] The general declared to the Irish chieftains "what was true, that he had been sent by the chief pontiff to assist the Irish against the heretics, for the rights and liberty of the catholic church; and, therefore, that he bore *the keys* depicted on his standards, because they were fighting for *him who had the keys of Heaven.*"[g] Such was the method by which the Roman sect was propagated. We find the same '*bishop*' Omelrian, again in 1583, arriving from Spain, where he had been an emissary of the rebel earl of Desmond with a supply of *men*, *money*, and *arms*.[h]

It is lamentable to find that persons assuming the sacred title of bishop, could be guilty of conduct so inconsistent with Christian sanctity and piety. Edmund Macgabhrana, pseudo-archbishop of Armagh, came from Spain about 1598, having the commands of the king of Spain to the Irish to declare war against the 'protestants' for the 'catholic' faith, and that they should receive aid from him immediately. Macgabhrana "proceeding to Macguier, who was then at war (*i. e.* in insurrection against the queen), and was a man desirous of warfare, *easily*

Jaimus Gregorium decimumtertium pontificem exorat, ut ecclesiæ catholicæ in Ibernia jam pene corruenti ferat opem: a quo demum impetravit impunitatem iis latronibus ea conditione, ut secum in Iberniam proficiscerentur. . . . Quibus summus pontifex duces præfecit Herculem Pisanum . . . aliosque Romanos milites."—Osullevan, p. 94, 95.

[f] Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 101.

[g] "Id quod erat, se fuisse a pontifice maximo Ibernis auxilio missum in hæreticos pro ecclesiæ catholicæ jure et libertate; ob id in militaribus signis claves gerere depictas, quod illi militabant qui regni cœlorum claves habebat."—Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 95.

[h] Carte's Life of Ormond, Introduct. p. 57.

confirmed by him by the words of the catholic king and by the hope of aid."[i] This warlike pontiff fell shortly afterwards in battle with the queen's troops.

Not long after, Odonel, chief of Tirconnel, being engaged in plotting an insurrection against the queen, employed a Romish bishop as his agent. "Odonel observing and thinking within himself that it would be difficult to free Ireland and the catholic religion from the heresy and tyranny of the English, without the aid of foreign princes; sends as his ambassador Jaimus Ohely, 'archbishop of Tuam,' a man of known learning and innocent life, to lay before Philip II. king of Spain, the state of Ireland; to beseech aid from him for the catholic faith nearly fallen, which he had promised by 'the primate of Ireland' (Macgabhrana); and to promise the assistance and obedience of Odonel and the other Irish chiefs."[k] This Romish bishop extolled to king Philip the advantages of Ireland, which he exhorted him to invade and subdue, as he might from thence easily conquer England, &c. The king was much struck by his representations, as we are informed by Osullevan; and a few years afterwards sent a fleet with 17,000 troops to invade Ireland; but it was unhappily shipwrecked on the coast of Gallicia.[l]

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[i] Sub hoc tempus Edmundus Macgabhrannus Iberniæ primas archiepiscopus Ardmachæ ex Hispania a Jaimo Flamingo Pontanensi mercatore vehitur, habens ad Ibernos regis Hispaniæ *mandata* ut protestantibus pro fide catholica bellum indicent, et ab ipso quam celerrime auxilium mittendum esse, intelligant; et ad Macguiernum, qui jam bellum gerebat, profectus, cupidum bellandi virum catholici regis verbis et auxilii spe, in incepto facile confirmavit."—Osullevan, p. 127.

[k] "Jaimum Ohelium Tuemiæ archiepiscopum, virum doctrina et innocente vita probatum, legatum mittit, qui Philippo II. Hispaniarum monarchæ Ibernarum rerum statum pandat; ab eo *declinatæ pœne catholicæ fidei* opem petat quam per Iberniæ primatem promiserat, et illi Odonelli et aliorum magnatum, Ibernorum operam et obedientiam polliceatur."—Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 130.

[l] Ibid. 130, 131.

The monarch with whom these ecclesiastics held such continual intercourse was the same, who in 1588, fitted out the "invincible armada" for the conquest of England; or as the Romish historian describes it: "Philip the Second, that most wise king of Spain, commiserating the calamity and hellish state of England, in which he had reigned for a short time on his marriage with queen Mary, having prepared an excellently appointed fleet, sends into that island a most powerful army commanded by the duke of Medina Sidonia, which would have extinguished without doubt the deadly pest of heresy in its very cradle, if it had been safely landed. But (*our sins preventing it*) in the year 1588, partly by the art of the heretics, but chiefly by a great tempest, the fleet was dispersed,"[m] &c.

To return to the proceedings of the schismatic clergy. When Odonel was in insurrection against the crown, and had ravaged Connaught and other parts of Ireland, we read that amongst his troops "were some ecclesiastics, especially Raymond Ogallachur, 'bishop of Derry and vice-primate of Ireland,' who *absolved from the bond of excommunication*, those who *deserted* from the royal army to the 'catholic.'"[n] About the same time (1600) "came into Ulster friar Matthew de Oviedo, a Spaniard, 'archbishop of Dublin,' and Martin Cerda, a noble Spanish knight, bringing from the chief pontiff to all who should take arms against the English *for the faith*, indulgences and pardon of their sins," together with the aid of 22,000 pieces of gold to the insurgents.[o] This friar returned again to Spain, but it was only to join in an expedition sent by king Philip to invade Ireland, under the command of Joannes Aquila, who, however, was obliged to retire before long without accomplish-

[m] "Miseratus calamitatem atque Tartareum statum Angliæ . . . cæterum peccatis nostris obstantibus, anno redemtionis 1588 partim hæreticorum arte," &c.—Osullevan, p. 120, 121.

[n] Ibid. p. 144.

[o] Deferentes a summo pontifice omnibus qui pro fide in Anglos arma caperent, indulgentias et peccatorum omnium," &c.—Ibid. p. 167. Cox, Hist. Ireland, p. 422.

ing anything.[p] In 1602, Eugene Macegogan, whom the Roman pontiff had sent over as his vicar, with the title of the see of Ross, together with his brethren in schism assuming the titles of Clonfert and Killaloe, issued an excommunication against all who should take up arms in the cause of heresy, or *give quarter* to the prisoners of the royal army.[q] Macegogan absolved all such prisoners from their sins, and then caused them to be put to death in his presence. He fell in battle against the royal army, leading a troop of horse, with his sword in one hand and his breviary and beads in the other.[r]

In this manner the schism arose in Ireland. Originating in the exhortations and impostures of foreign emissaries, addressed to a superstitious, an ignorant, and a credulous people, it was fomented by the arrival of usurping and intrusive bishops sent by the Roman pontiff, and completed amidst rebellion and massacre, stimulated by the unholy ministers of the new communion. Alternately deluded, terrified, encouraged, and excited to schism and insurrection, by their chieftains and their priests, it is not to be wondered at that too many of these unhappy people fell from the right way, and from obedience to the original and catholic hierarchy of Ireland. It is needless to proceed further in this lamentable history, which would furnish too frequently a repetition of the same features. The Romish sect in Ireland was founded in schism, in rebellion, and by force of arms; not by the peaceful weapons of argument and prayer. And as it was unholy in its origin, so were its fruits unholy; "Certainly," says Osullevan, "the Irish of my party (*i. e.* the Romish), although they excel most nations in their honour and observance of the catholic faith and of divine religion, yet in the time of this war were *much worse than Turks or heretics in faction, dissension, ambition, and perfidy.*"[s]

[p] Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 175. 177.

[q] Leland, vol. ii. p. 405.

[r] Leland, Hist. Ireland, vol. ii. p. 406. Cox, Hist. Ireland, p. 453.

[s] "Certe Iberni mei quamvis catholicæ fidei religionisque divinæ cultu et observantia plerisque gentibus præstent, hujus tamen belli tempore, fac-

"There are not wanting some who *kill* the minister-clergy—though *seldom*. Many cause them such fear that they cannot exercise their heretical office,"[t] &c.

It may be alleged, in justification of the conduct of these schismatics, that great severities were exercised by the government against their bishops and pastors: but surely it is impossible to wonder that the queen treated as rebels and traitors men, who acted as *political* agents and emissaries from those Roman pontiffs who had issued bulls deposing her from her sovereignty, absolving her subjects from their allegiance, conferring her dominions on the king of Spain, and promising plenary remission of sins to all who should rise in insurrection against her. The first principles of self-preservation required the punishment of those, who are acknowledged by their *own historians* to have been sent by foreign powers, for the purpose of exciting insurrection in Ireland, on the avowed principle that the Roman pontiff had conferred her dominions on another monarch. Those historians acknowledge that the disturbances in Ireland were *excited* by the papal bulls; and that when some of the Romish party doubted the lawfulness of taking up arms against their sovereign, the pontiff forbad any division, and ordered all to unite their forces against the queen.[u] It is even acknowledged that "when just and honourable conditions of peace were offered by the queen to the 'catholic' priests and laity," the ambassadors of king Philip persuaded them to break off the treaty by promises of further assistance from Spain, and that the very same circumstance afterwards broke off a treaty between Norris and Odonel.[v] We cannot wonder, then, that the government treated the Romish bishops and priests as

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tione, dissidio, ambitione, perfidia, Turcis et hæreticis plurimi deterius fuerunt."—Osullevan, 119.

[t] "Non desunt qui ministro-clericos etsi raro occidant. Multi illis metum incutiunt ut nec ipsi munus hæreticum exercere, nec catholicos sacerdotes divinis officiis prohibere audeant."—Ibid. 227.

[u] Ibid. 117. [v] Ibid. 142. 144.

its *enemies;* and we are fully entitled to disbelieve the accounts of tortures alleged to have been inflicted on some of them, because we observe in their writers a total disregard of truth where the interests of their sect were to be promoted.

The schism was thus formed, but its power was broken considerably by the unsuccessful issue of the various rebellions in the reign of Elizabeth, and by the resolution of James the First to prevent the residence of Jesuits, missionary priests, popish bishops, &c. in his dominions. In 1621, Osullevan describes the Romish hierarchy thus: "There are four archbishoprics and many bishoprics, and all are at present possessed by 'heresiarchs:' therefore 'catholic' prelates are not, except rarely ordained to their titles, because it seems, that without revenue so large a number of bishops cannot maintain their dignity and honour. Therefore the four archbishops who are *inaugurated by the Roman pontiff*, constitute in their suffragan dioceses, vicars general, by the authority of the pope, who are either priests, or inferior clergy, or religious: these again appoint the parochial clergy. Eugenius Macmagaun, archbishop of Dublin, and David Ocarney of Cashel, undertake great dangers and vast labours to tend their flocks personally (N. B. these usurping prelates were in the pay of Spain[w]); while Peter Lombard of Armagh, and Florence Omelcontrius of Tuam, who for many reasons cannot remain safely in Ireland, on account of the English, have delegated their provinces to vicars."[x]

On the other hand, the church maintained a continual succession of bishops in all the sees of Ireland. We have seen that the prelates consented almost unanimously to remove the papal jurisdiction in Ireland in 1560. In the Irish parliament under sir John Perrott's administration, A.D. 1585, four archbishops and twenty bishops were actually present,[y] and as we know that at this time three of the twenty-nine sees existing at the acces-

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[w] Phelan, Remains, vol. ii. p. 294.

[x] Osullevan, Hist. Cath. p. 229.

[y] Cox, History of Ireland, p. 383.

sion of Elizabeth, were held in commendam with others, and one *at least* was vacant,[z] we see that at this time all the dioceses of Ireland must have been possessed by the church. Sir John Davis seems to have erred in saying that there were three northern dioceses to which the queen never presented,[a] as we find Magrath made bishop of Clogher (one of them) in 1570,[b] but at all events the bishops of those dioceses must have been in communion with the church of Ireland in 1585.[c] Thus the regular and ancient succession of bishops from St. Patrick through a long line of venerable prelates, has descended continually in the church of Ireland to the present day. The Romish society on the other hand, derived its mission and succession from the pope of Rome in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First, and cannot in any degree derive itself from the ancient church of Ireland from which it separated.

We may conclude from these facts, that the community of Romanists in Ireland thus formed, was no part of the church of Christ; for I have before proved that voluntary separation from a Christian church, and the establishment of a rival communion, is a separation from Jesus Christ, and altogether inexcusable.[d] The only defence which can be offered, is that the church of Ireland had herself become heretical and apostate. Were this manifestly true, there would indeed have been a positive obligation to forsake her communion: but I contend that there is no

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[z] Emly was united to Cashel, Ross to Cloyne, Clonmacnois to Meath, before this time (see Ware). Killala or Mayo was vacant, as we learn from Osullevan, who says it was in vain offered to Gelasius Ocullenan, on condition of his forsaking the cause of the Roman pontiff.—Hist. Cath. p. 105. Sir John Perrott wrote to England in 1584, that no more bishoprics ought to be put in commendam.—Cox, p. 382.

[a] Viz. Clogher, Raphoe, and Derry. See his "Causes why Ireland," &c.

[b] Sir J. Ware's Bishops of Ireland.

[c] Leland says the bishops of Clogher and Raphoe sat in the parliament that year.—Hist. Ireland, vol. ii. p. 295.

[d] See Part I. Chapter IV.

evidence of her heresy in any point whatever. The removal of the papal jurisdiction in Ireland was merely a restoration of an ancient discipline which had never been changed by any law of the universal church. In short, whatever was done, had the assent of the bishops, the ordinary pastors of the church, and successors of the apostles, whose judgment ought to have been a sufficient warrant to the ignorant and undisciplined people, that the catholic faith and discipline were preserved in their integrity. Their first and most solemn duty was to hear and obey their immediate bishops and pastors in those questions which they were incompetent to decide themselves; but they permitted themselves to be deceived by the foreign monks and priests who came to sow dissension in the church. The sect which was thus created arose in separation from an older Christian society; it was founded by unholy men, who encouraged schism, practised on the ignorant by false miracles, were involved in treason, and excited sedition, war, and massacre. It was not apostolical, because it separated from the successors of the apostles in Ireland, and adhered to the intruding bishops, whom the Roman pontiffs sent over to excite sedition. And as its first ministers were mere usurpers, so in latter times it has become questionable whether any of their ordinations are valid.[e] Consequently we cannot admit this sect to constitute any part of the catholic church, and the whole history of Ireland from the period of the reformation to the present time, affords a terrible example of the retribution which grievous sins draw down upon the descendants of the guilty.

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[e] See Part VI. Chapter on Romish Ordinations

CHAPTER X.

ON THE REFORMATION AND SCHISMS IN SCOTLAND.

Those who contemplate without prejudice the conduct of religious parties in Scotland during the sixteenth century, will find none of them exempt from serious faults, which gave rise to evils almost unprecedented. The gross corruptions and abuses of all sorts long prevalent in the Scottish church, were maintained against the spirit of reformation with a severity which was at last fatal to those who exercised it. The burning of Hamilton, Forrest, Gourlay, Straiton, Russell, Kennedy, Wishart, Wallace, Mill, &c. for supposed heresy, together with innumerable imprisonments and banishments for the same offence,[a] disgusted the majority of the nation; and the want of energy and zeal which the prelates of the Romish party evinced when their opponents gained the ascendancy, and which, together with their immoral lives, is fully admitted by Lesley, bishop of Ross,[b] threw almost the whole nation at once into the cause of the Reformation. In 1560, the reforming party having petitioned for relief from persecution until a *lawful general council* might determine the pending controversies,[c] were powerful enough to obtain from a convention of estates a sanction of their confession of faith, the suppression of the spiritual courts which

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[a] Archbishop Spottiswood, History of the Church of Scotland, p. 63—96. It appears to me that this work is, in point of judgment, preferable to other histories of the Scottish church. John Knox's history cannot be relied on as genuine. According to Spottiswood, p. 267, it quotes "Fox's Martyrs," which did not appear till ten years after the death of Knox.

[b] Leslæus, De Reb. Gest. Scotorum, lib. x. p. 583. Romæ, 1578.

[c] Spottiswood, p. 119.

aggrieved them for thirty years, and a proscription of the office of the mass.[d] The "congregation" or reforming party had been treated as heretics by their opponents, and separated from their communion; but this division did not last very long, for the whole nation soon became unanimous. Four of the bishops united themselves with the promoters of the Reformation,[e] a larger number were either actively or passively opposed to it: but the latter either forsook their sees and went abroad, or died before long, and were succeeded by others more favourable to the Reformation. The papal party dwindled to nothing:[f] it was without bishops, had no organized churches, and about 1580 several foreign jesuits and missionary priests began to resort to Scotland and endeavour to make converts.[g]

From about 1572 it seems that all the Scots were united in the national church. The ancient churches of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, &c. still continued,[h] and were presided over by bishops and archbishops, some of whom had been constituted before the Reformation,[i] and others with consent of the Convention

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[d] Ibid. p. 150. The office of the mass was proscribed in Scotland at this time as "idolatrous." It is very probable that in Scotland the people may have generally practised idolatry in this office; and a new form of administering that rite under a different name, may have been necessary on account of their evil habits. But it could not have been the intention to affirm, that all the Western church had been involved in formal idolatry for a thousand years.

[e] Bothwell, bishop of Orkney, Gordon of Galloway, Stewart of Caithness, Hamilton of Argyle.—See Keith's Scottish Bishops.

[f] Skinner's Ecclesiast. History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 165.

[g] Spottiswood, p. 308. Russell, History of the Church in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 26. The Romish party had no bishops until the reign of James II., when the pope sent them a titular bishop.—See Dodd's Church History.

[h] See Keith's Historical Catalogue of the Scottish bishops, by Dr. Russell, bishop of Glasgow.

[i] Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, consecrated 1551, died in possession of his see in 1603, though for a time it had been occupied by others.—Keith, p. 259. 262. Bothwell, made bishop of Orkney by queen Mary in 1562, died 1593.—Keith, p. 226. Gordon, bishop of Galloway in 1558, died

of the Church in 1571, which agreed that the sees then vacant should be filled, that the bishops should exercise spiritual jurisdiction in their dioceses, should be elected by the chapters,[k] &c. Thenceforward the dioceses of Scotland were filled by bishops who were consecrated by other prelates and sat in parliament.[l] The episcopate indeed had not been abolished even by the conventions or parliaments which established the reformed confession of faith. On the contrary, the reformed consented at that time that the existing bishops should continue, and receive a large portion of their revenues.[m] The Convention of 1571 did not *revive* or *introduce* the episcopate, but merely approved its continuance. The superintendants which had been constituted in 1560 by the reformed, under their peculiar circumstances, to watch over their societies,[n] were permitted to retain a certain jurisdiction during their lives, and then the order was discontinued.

Such being in general the position of the church of Scotland up to the accession of James VI. to the throne of England, there seemed no reason to dispute its character as a church of Christ. The succession of bishops was apparently preserved, and the archbishop of Glasgow, who had been consecrated before the Reformation, died in possession of his see, A.D. 1603. Nor had the church then existing separated itself from any more ancient society in Scotland, for almost the whole church there had adopted the Reformation; and in fine they did not profess to differ in doctrine from the English churches; therefore the English Convocation of 1603 were justified in recognizing the church

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1576.—Ib. p. 279. Stewart, bishop of Caithness, 1542, died 1586.—Ib. p. 215. Hamilton, bishop of Argyle, 1558, living in 1575.—Ib. p. 290.

[k] Spottiswood, p. 260. Knox himself highly approved of this.—See Russell, vol. i. p. 332.

[l] [See the Note of the author at the end of the chapter.]

[m] Skinner, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 122. Russell, vol. i. p. 267.

[n] Spottiswood, p. 158.

of Scotland as a portion of the Christian church,[o] though it is certain, that if they had been fully aware of the extreme disorders then prevalent in Scotland, they would have given the title of "Church" in a modified sense, not as implying a society perfectly organized according to the Divine institution.

Scotland was for a long period in a state of anarchy. Its feeble government was set at defiance by powerful and lawless barons; and the evils which resulted to the church in consequence were unparalleled, except perhaps in France under the Merovingian dynasty. Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, stated that in his time "the episcopal sees for the most part were given up to the possession of avaricious *laymen*," or to clergy of the most scandalous character. He observes that for eighty years there had been no archbishop in France, no synods,[p] &c. Such in fact was too often the fate of the Scottish sees, and even those bishops who were consecrated do not seem to have been validly ordained by other bishops.[q] The church of England however, could scarcely have known this, for the very little intercourse between the two nations at that time is a matter of notoriety;[r] and as we knew that bishops had embraced the Reformation in Scotland, and that others had been consecrated since by bishops, we could only infer that their consecration had been validly performed. Besides these irregularities, it appears, in fact, that several of the ministers were not ordained by imposition of hands, from the introduction of false maxims, and that the inferior clergy usurped an authority which was inconsistent with the proper office of their bishops, and even dared to depose bishops, and to censure the episcopal

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[o] Canon LV. A.D. 1603, where in the form of prayer before sermons, it is said: "Ye shall pray for Christ's holy catholic church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the churches of England, *Scotland*, and Ireland."

[p] Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Ecclesia Disciplina, tom. ii. p. 329.

[q] Keith, Scottish Bishops, p. 216.

[r] Robertson's History of Scotland, book viii. vol. iii. p. 200.

office,[s] under the influence of a misguided man named Melville. However, these calamities were terminated by the wise conduct of king James, and in 1612 the Scottish bishops elect received from the English that apostolical commission which was necessary to the completion of their church. From that time the church of Scotland has always continued to be guided by a regular succession of bishops even to the present day, though afflicted by many grievous losses and persecutions, especially since the Revolution of 1688.

I am now to speak of the Presbyterian societies in Scotland, and examine their claim to be considered a part of the Christian church. The novel principle of the unlawfulness of episcopacy was first introduced into Scotland by Melville, about 1575, who had just returned from Geneva, and was desirous of introducing the discipline established there.[t] He succeeded in exciting great disturbances in the church, and in 1580, an assembly of clergy at Dundee even declared the office of bishop unlawful.[u] However, as I have said, episcopacy continued till the time of Charles the First, when the nobility, irritated by the king's revocation of the grants of church lands, and jealous of the bishops, united themselves with the presbyterian party, which broke into insurrection against the king, abolished episcopacy by act of parliament, and instituted the "solemn league and covenant," one of whose articles consisted of an engagement to "endeavour the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government by archbishops, bishops,[v] &c." These proceedings being annulled on the restoration of Charles II., the church of Scotland continued till 1690 to be subject to its bishops like all other churches, though many adherents of the covenant formed conventicles and separated themselves from the church.[w] In 1690, this party of dissenters obtained the

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[s] Ibid. p. 311. Spottiswood, p. 219, 311.
[t] Spottiswood, p. 275. [u] Russell, vol. i. p. 377.
[v] Skinner, Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 368. [w] Ibid. p. 470.

support of the civil power (in consequence of the refusal of the bishops to acknowledge king William III.), and under their influence the Scottish parliament consummated a most woful schism, abolishing episcopacy and establishing the presbyterian separatists as the church of Scotland. Thus the bishops and clergy were deprived of their estates and all their legal rights, and their place and authority was usurped by others, while a portion of the nation fell from their obedience, and united themselves to the new establishment, which afterwards obtained many converts by the severe persecution which it directed against the church.[x]

Hence it would be a great mistake to suppose that the question between the presbyterians and the church was merely a dispute on church government: it was concerning the most vital principles of church unity and authority. The presbyterians were innovators who *separated* themselves from the church, because they judged episcopacy antichristian, and thus condemned the church universal in all past ages. Their *opinion* was erroneous, but had it merely extended to a preference for the presbyterian form, it might have been in some degree tolerated: it would not have cut them off from the church

x The Cameronians (dissenters) forcibly drove out two hundred of the clergy, before any alteration of religion was made by law.—Russell, ii. 348, &c. It appears that the majority of the people were in 1690 still attached to their church.—Russell, 359, &c.; and almost the whole body of the clergy remained stedfast.—Ib. 362. The clergy were in 1695 prohibited by act of parliament from baptizing or solemnizing marriage on pain of banishment.—Ib. 380. In 1707 all their chapels were closed by order of government (Ib. 392), and those who officiated were imprisoned.—Ib. 394. In 1746, after the battle of Culloden, the magistrates directed the soldiers and the mob against them, burned their chapels, plundered their vestments and plate, burned their books, and compelled them to seek safety in flight or concealment.—Ib. 401. Every clergyman ordained by a Scottish bishop was by act of parliament made liable to transportation for celebrating divine worship, and their people were subjected to fine or imprisonment.—Ib. 402, 403. Under this dreadful persecution they remained for forty-two years.

of Christ; but it was the exaggeration of their opinion: their *separation* for the sake of this opinion, their actual rejection of the authority and communion of the existing successors of the apostles in Scotland, and therefore of the universal church in all ages, that marks them out as schismatics; and all the temporal enactments and powers of the whole world could not cure this fault, nor render them a portion of the church of Christ. If a party of schismatics should now separate themselves from the communion of the church of England, and should by a fortunate combination of events be able to effect the temporal overthrow of the church, and their own establishment by the civil power; this would surely not deprive the church of her claim to the adherence of Christians, nor cover the sins of those who had assailed and despoiled her. This appears really to have been the case of the Scottish church and the presbyterians; and therefore while we must ever deplore the condition of Scotland, and most earnestly desire that her people may be reunited in religious harmony, it is impossible for us to close our eyes on the origin of the Presbyterian Establishment in that country.

With regard to all the other sects in Scotland, which have seceded from the Presbyterian community, such as Glassites, Sandemanians, Seceders, Burghers, Anti-burghers, Constitutional Associate Presbytery, Relief Kirk, Scottish Baptists, Bereans, Independents, &c.; the same observations apply to them all. Their predecessors, the Presbyterians, voluntarily separated themselves from the catholic church of Christ, and they in departing from the presbyterian communion have not yet returned to that of the true church. Consequently they form no part of the church of Christ.

NOTE.—A learned friend has suggested that the statements, p. 524, as to the continuance of episcopacy, are disputable—that the irregularities at that time were so great, that the *real* episcopacy can only be dated from 1612. It is very probable indeed that the episcopate previously existing was not a genuine episcopate, as I have intimated p. 526, 527. I only meant to argue, that the church of England may have supposed the episcopate of Scotland not extinct. For further remarks on Presbyterianism, see the Supplement.

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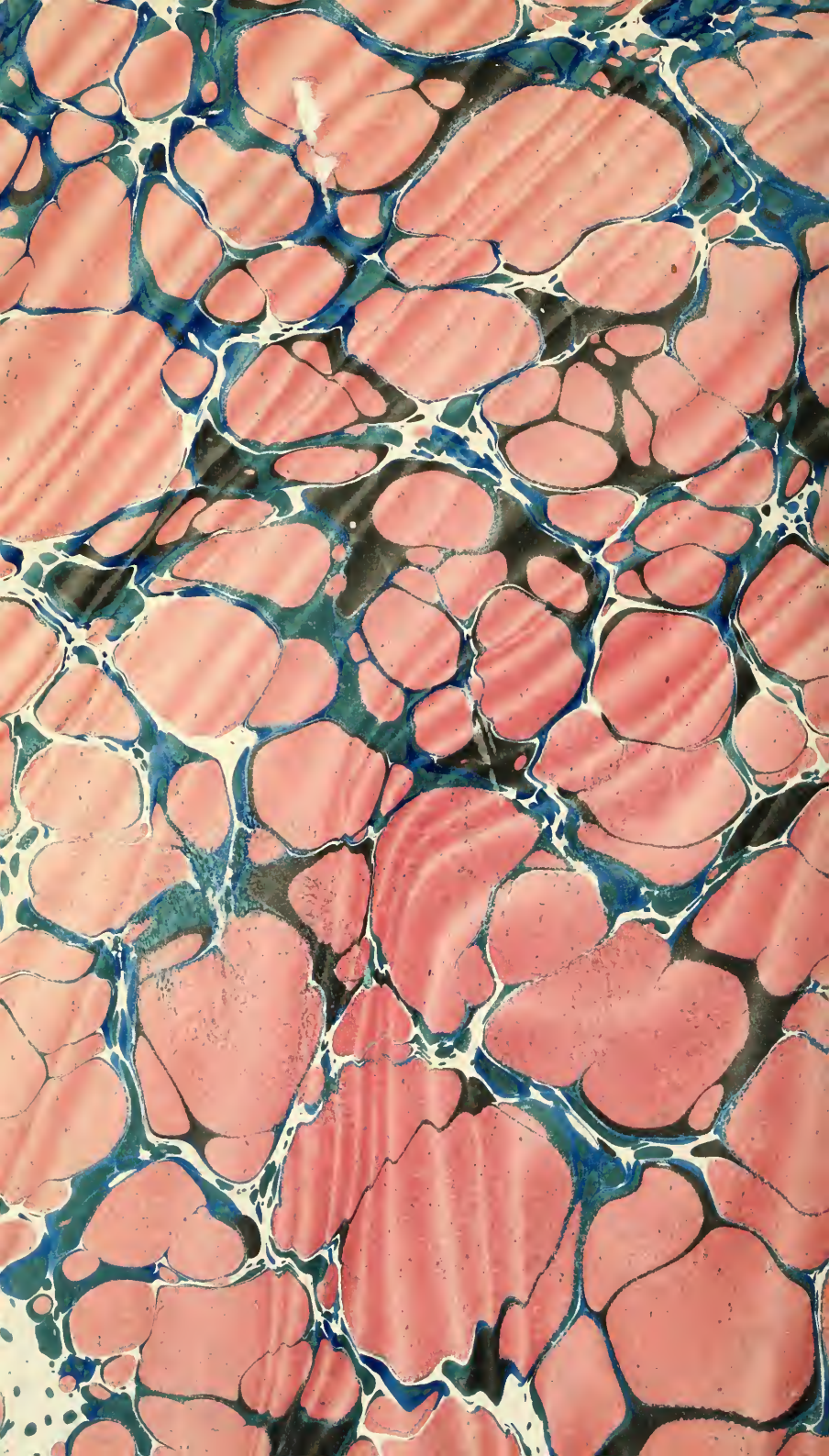

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